

Gift from W. B. Brown

U3p 292-2

ROMAN CONVERSATIONS;

OR

A SHORT DESCRIPTION

OF THE

ANTIQUITIES OF ROME.

Et. Et. Et.

by Joseph Wilcocks Esqr
of Hurley, near Maidenhead.
Monthly Review 1792 p. 78

278 i 5
K
ROMAN CONVERSATIONS;

OR,

A SHORT DESCRIPTION

OF THE

ANTIQUITIES OF ROME,

AND

THE CHARACTERS

OF

MANY EMINENT ROMANS.

INTERMIXED WITH

REFERENCES TO CLASSICAL AUTHORS

AND

VARIOUS MORAL REFLECTIONS;

IN

A SUPPOSED CONVERSATION BETWEEN SOME ENGLISH
GENTLEMEN AT ROME.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR W. BROWN, CORNER OF ESSEX STREET,
STRAND.

MDCCXCII.

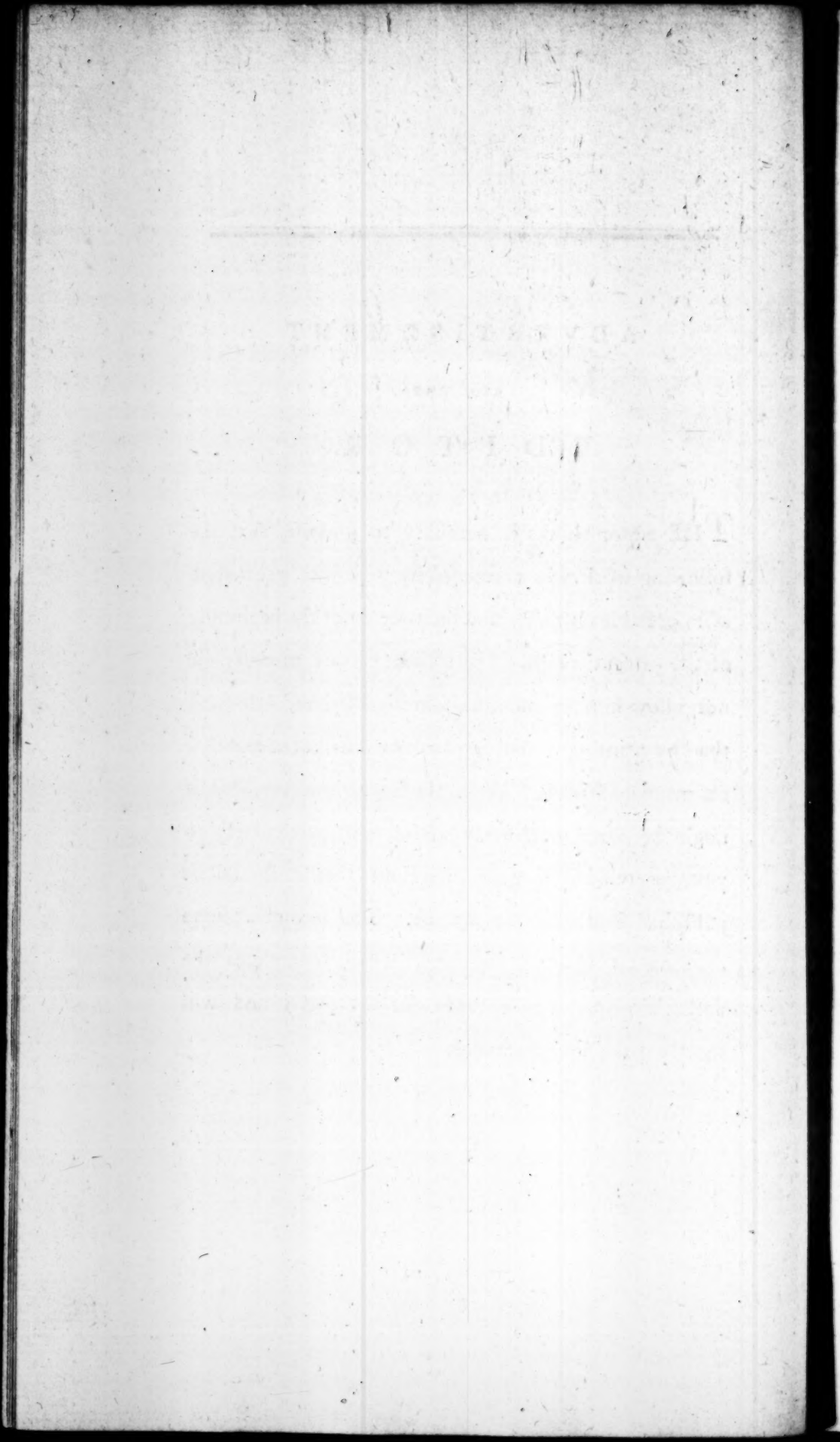


ADVERTISEMENT

FROM THE

E D I T O R,

THE editor thinks it necessary to premise, that the following work was composed by a private gentleman of respectable character and fortune, about the beginning of the present reign. His diffidence and modesty did not allow him to publish it in his lifetime, otherwise than by printing a few copies to be distributed amongst his intimate friends. With the hope, however, that it might be more extensively useful, and particularly to younger minds, he gave directions that it should be published soon after his decease. The second volume of ROMAN CONVERSATIONS, which completes the author's plan, is now ready for the press, and will shortly make its appearance.



I N D E X
TO THE
CONVERSATIONS.

VOLUME I.

BOOK I.

First Day,	-	-	-	-	-	Page	1
Second Day,	-	-	-	-	-		43
Third Day,	-	-	-	-	-		63
Fourth Day,	-	-	-	-	-		116
Fifth Day,	-	-	-	-	-		141

BOOK II.

Sixth Day	-	-	-	-	-		197
Seventh Day,	-	-	-	-	-		227
Eighth Day,	-	-	-	-	-		271
Ninth Day,	-	-	-	-	-		323
Tenth Day,	-	-	-	-	-		369

ERRATA.

Page

- 29, Introduction, for *εγαλη*, read *μεγαλη*.
7, for *μω*, read *υιω*.
20, for *εθ'* read *εθ'*.
253, for *area*, read *area*.
279, for *μον*, read *υιον*.
304, for *εκανον*, read *ικανον*.
308, for *ταυτηυ*, read *ταυτην*.
362, note, for *μον*, read *υιον*.
417, for *νησαν*, read *νησων*.
418, for *αυτοι*, read *αυτον*.
431, for *Δαβομεν*, read *Λαβομεν*.

ADVERTISEMENT

TO THE

YOUNG READER.

AS, among the several Roman Characters contained in these volumes, there is constantly interwoven a short description of some of the Roman antiquities; it may not be improper here to premise to the reader's consideration, the few following observations on that last subject.

The real present state of those ruins of antiquity, which are here mentioned, may be found fully described in many books of travels; and accurately delineated in many collections of drawings and prints.

But as to their antient and original form; the purpose and use for which they were first erected; who were their true builders; and at what time; all these questions are, even at Rome, often answered with great uncertainty. The numerous

VOL. I.

A

authors

ADVERTISEMENT.

authors also, who treat on these subjects, frequently contradict each other; and yet generally each makes some confession of the doubtfulness of his own opinion, and of the incertitude of his own system and hypothesis of antiquities.

Of the very great uncertainty of this antiquarian science at Rome, two instances will perhaps be abundantly sufficient.

1. *Even the great triumphal column of Marcus Aurelius has been generally mistaken for that of Antoninus Pius; nor was this mistake thoroughly cleared, till the real column of Antoninus was lately found buried among the ruins of Monte Citorio.*

2. *Even the situation of the great temple of Jupiter Capitolinus is to this day disputed by the Roman antiquarians; some arguing, that it stood on the eastern; others, that it stood on the western summit of the Capitoline hill.*

From these two instances the reader may judge of most of the rest.

To

ADVERTISEMENT.

To this general observation however some exceptions must be made. For this incertitude cannot be supposed to extend to any of those ruins of antiquity, on which there is to this day (or has been till very lately) remaining some antique inscription. Of these there can hardly be any doubt. Such are the column of Trajan, the forum of Nerva, several of the triumphal arches, several of the porticos to the temples, several of the Mausolæa on the different antient roads, &c. &c.

Nor does this incertitude extend to several of the antiquities of the first magnitude or fame; on which, though no original inscription is to be found, yet all writers have been forced to be unanimous. Such (if we are not mistaken) is the great amphitheatre and circus, the theatre of Marcellus, the place of the circus of Nero, the mole of Adrian, the mausolæum of Augustus, several of the Thermæ, &c.

But as to most of the rest of the antiquities of Rome, the compilers must here, once for all, acknowledge their great doubt and uncertainty. It is better perhaps to acknowledge this, thus in general, and in the first pages of this volume,

ADVERTISEMENT.

rather than to be continually perplexing the young student with the confused disputes of antiquarians on the several scenes of antiquity which are described in the progress of this work.

All disputes of that kind are avoided in the following papers: yet it is hoped that there are not many things asserted in them, but what may be found either to be favoured by some received local tradition, or by the opinion of some learned man. The compilers ought to be sensible of their own incapacity, and not presume to make any judgment themselves of any such controversies. They must however again intreat the reader to remember, that these volumes were never intended as any thing like an accurate work either of Roman biography, or of Roman antiquity. They were originally compiled only (for the use of children) as some kind of Introduction to the study of those authors, who have written on these subjects in an infinitely more ingenious, ample, compleat, and exact manner.

Yet even in the study of those authors, what will the young reader find? He will find indeed much instruction, and much pleasure: yet (especially if

ADVERTISEMENT.

if he compares different antiquarian authors) he must expect that, as we have just now observed, his researches will frequently conclude in great uncertainty. Nor can this be otherwise, it being a necessary consequence of the perishable nature of all, even the greatest, human works. For let the reader consider, that no less than thirteen centuries are elapsed since the edifices of Rome began to decay under the Gothic government: let him also further consider, that, if the accounts of the Roman antiquities are full of such incertitudes and obscurity, much greater must be the darkness and confusion in the history of the other ruins of still much more antient magnificence, which are remaining in many parts of Greece, Egypt, Syria, Mesopotamia, and Persia. The whole earth indeed is full of most striking proofs of the truth of that solemn and instructive verse,

Man dieth; and all his works follow him.

But the young reader will certainly be taught by the proper persons, both at school, and at the university, (if in either of those places of education this book should ever be admitted) that the instruction contained in this verse is of a double

ADVERTISEMENT.

kind. For as all the terrestrial labours of man, however great or beautiful, will thus indubitably follow his body into dust and ashes, and there gradually sink into utter and eternal oblivion; so, on the other hand, it is equally certain, that the rewards of his celestial virtues will also follow his soul to the regions of incorruption and immortality; and there continually, as is highly probable, even grow and increase, shining for ever with new accessions of glory, and brightening to all eternity.



It may not be improper, perhaps, in this advertisement to the young reader, to premise to his consideration something also of another nature.

The following papers being drawn up in the form of a dialogue, it may be serviceable to him to be in this place pre-acquainted in some degree with each of the four characters there introduced.

*It is hoped that the ecclesiastical character, though very imperfectly delineated, will not, on the whole, appear unamiable; nor such a temper of mind to be totally an unworthy model for the
young*

ADVERTISEMENT.

young readers, who are designed for that profession. As to this character, it may be sufficient here to premise only, that this clergyman is supposed, during his learned and pious care of his young pupil, to have laboured to implant in his breast, from his earliest childhood, the true and great principles of Christian charity, or universal love; utterly discouraging, from the first, all those childish prejudices of narrow minds, the partial and unjust preferences of one school, one college, or one university to another; and teaching him afterwards gradually to extend his love to all worthy persons of all parties and denominations in this kingdom; and in general to all the inhabitants of all the different kingdoms and countries, of which the body of this happy monarchy is composed. In the same manner during his travels into foreign countries, (which last and very important part of education is particularly useful in opening the mind, and enlarging the heart) he continued still the same great and generous plan of instruction. He still laboured to cultivate in his pupil's happy soul, true humility; and the consequential virtues of sincere good-will towards men, and piety to that God in the highest, who (according to the charitable reflection of St. Paul,

ADVERTISEMENT,

during his travels) *both made of one blood, all nations to dwell on all the face of the earth. Such was the blessed object of his meditations; ut charitas, pietate perfecté accensa, progrediatur quotidie in ulteriora. Such were the limits to which he thus extended his benevolence; even those of the great globe itself.*

And heaven beheld its image in his breast.

Essay on Man, Ep. iv. ver. 157.

In relation to the three young gentlemen, it may not be improper here to premise, that they are all supposed to be descended of noble and opulent families; and all partakers of a similar and truly noble education, particularly in the study of the belles lettres, and the still more pleasing study of goodness.

Their turns of mind also in general were amiably similar; though at present their talents began to exert themselves in different manners; according to the different prospects, which each had now opening before his eyes, of his particular kind of life, and station in the world.

The eldest, whose family seat in the house of commons was ready to receive him on his return

ADVERTISEMENT.

to England, was preparing himself for that station with truly patriotic intentions. He was daily, for some hours, inflaming his mind with the fire of antient eloquence; at other hours he was still more earnest in the pursuit of a more solid object: for he was resolutely now entering on a diligent study of the vast and complex science of parliamentary and national business; without which indeed all attempts to senatorial oratory are necessarily very empty and vain*.

The youngest of these three friends was heir to a seat in the highest assembly of the British legislature. He did not indeed neglect such proper political studies, though as yet he did not follow them with such ardency. For he had the happiness to know that his noble and good father was still in strong health, and to wish that that health might be continued for many and many years. His chief object in the mean time, especially during his residence at Rome, was, first, improvement in true politeness of behaviour; and, secondly, instruction in the elegant arts of architecture, painting,

* The young reader is earnestly referred to the short dialogue on a parallel subject, between Socrates and Glaucon.

Xenophontis Memorabilia, lib. 3.

ADVERTISEMENT.

ing, sculpture, &c. of which he might afterwards hope to become an encourager at home, in humble imitation of his most amiable young sovereign. Charmed and enchanted with these fine arts, he preferred the quiet study of their excellencies to all the pomp and turbulence of a political life; and on this account was very far from desiring to be soon elected a member of the other legislative assembly, as he might easily have been.

The third, though loving his country like the first of these his young friends, and admiring the arts like the second, yet had fixed his plan of life, (perhaps owing to the influence of his good tutor, the clergyman just mentioned) on a different design. His prudent object was the family-life of a worthy country-gentleman; in which station however he hoped to continue, for many years, in a proper manner, the same kind of studies, in which he had been happily educated in his earliest youth.

It may indeed be useful to observe to the young reader, that many parts of the studies of boys are such as ought not to be in the least unworthy of the attention of men. To suppose otherwise would be

ADVERTISEMENT.

be extremely absurd; several of the books which are used in schools, being in reality some of the most sublime compositions of the genius and wisdom of Greece and Rome. These books are indeed very beneficial to children, even when learnt by them in the most childish manner; and while their tender minds are as yet capable of exerting scarce any other faculty, than that of memory; memory, the first root of all science, and on that account called the mother of all the Muses.

But the same books are also highly improving in the following seasons of life; not only while youthful genius makes its luxuriant shoots of invention, but even afterwards, in the summer and autumn of our lives, when all the branches of the human understanding are grown solid and strong in manly judgment.

Several even of the poetical works of the ancients, (to which kinds of composition this young gentleman is supposed to have had a particular inclination) may at any time of life be now and then profitably taken up, and perused for some hours with a manly spirit: many of the historians and biographers of Greece and Rome are surely
not

ADVERTISEMENT.

not unworthy studies of the most mature and judicious years: but of all the studies which are begun in our early youth, the two most noble and most deserving of continual culture afterwards, are certainly the moral philosophy of Greece, and the far superior philosophy of Christian piety.

Accordingly this young gentleman intended, as soon as he should, by the favour of Providence, be returned to his native country, to resume both these studies. He proposed to employ regularly some small part of every day of his future life, with all perseverance and privacy, in something of the following manner: that is, during the more youthful years of his manhood, to allot a short half hour every morning to the study of the precepts of the wisest man, which the philosophical world ever produced; Xenophontem Socratem quotidie habere in manu: and in succeeding years to pay the same daily attention to some of the most approved books on the imitation of a much higher character.

He was the more encouraged to these studies by the following consideration. The whole proposed

ADVERTISEMENT.

posed scheme and design of his life was sing'y this, viz: The acquisition of the favour of God, particularly by doing as much good to mankind, as was really within the utmost stretch of his abilities. In this noble design of life (a design however which is practicable by the peasant, as well as by the king; being indeed the best and wisest object at which all ranks of men can possibly aim) he hoped diligently to exert all the peculiar advantages of his station*, and all the talents of his great family, wealth, and power. He was highly pleased with the just reflection, that in a country life he should be continually surrounded with humble and innumerable opportunities of doing good to his fellow-creatures.

To keep himself steady in this design, he was convinced, by his good tutor, that scarce any thing would be more conducive than such short, but regular, morning retirements to his library.

In a word, the whole designed business of his life was goodness; his favourite art and science
was

* The young reader is earnestly referred to the sermon of Dr. Barrow, on the *Duties of Gentlemen*; and to the *Gentleman's Calling*, written by the author of the *Whole duty of Man*. See also, on the same subject, Dr. Lucas, Prebendary of Westminster, in his *True Notion of Human Life*, p. 37.

ADVERTISEMENT.

was that of beneficence ; or, to give it its more proper name, perfect Christian charity. In comparison of this, he thought not any other art or science worthy to be mentioned, though he understood many of them, and loved them all. To this he resolved to give his application during his whole life. Μηδενος μητε των αλλων των καλεμενων εγκυκλιων παιδευματων, μητε ανηκοος, μητε αθεατος. Αλλα ταυτα μεν εκ περιδρομης μαθων την δε φιλοσοφian ταυτην Πρεσβευων. ωσπερ περιπλευσαι μεν πολ-
λας πολεις καλον, ενοικησαι δε κρατιση χρησιμον.
PLUTARCHUS *de liberis educandis.*

INTRO-



INTRODUCTION.



IN the first year of the reign of his present Majesty, King *George III.* three young *English* gentlemen met together at *Rome*. An elderly person accompanied one of these young gentlemen on his travels; he had been his tutor at school, and at the university, but always behaved to him with the mingled affection of a parent and companion.

THEY arrived at *Rome* some few days before Christmas, and passed in the most friendly and agreeable manner the four following months, surveying together the antiquities, paintings, sculptures, &c. of that wonderful city.

TOWARDS the end of *April*, they were one day taking an afternoon's walk in the gardens
of

ii INTRODUCTION.

of the *Corfini* palace, which is situated at the feet of the *Janiculan* mount. They ascended the side of the adjoining woody hill, which is near the great cascade of *Monte Aureo*, and which antiently perhaps might be the spot of the *Villa Martialis* *. From this lofty situation, they viewed with great pleasure the magnificence of *Rome*, which filled all the valley below them, appearing then to the greatest advantage by the reflection of the setting sun on the shining domes of many churches, and on the darker arches of some noble ruins, intermingled with groves of cypress.

MIGHT it not be wished, said the eldest of the young gentlemen, that the great road to *Rome* had been down the side of this hill? That foreigners (who come hither from all regions) might, even before their entering the gates, have such a prospect of the splendor of this city. How little would they then regret the fatigue of their long journey? even if they came from as distant regions as the two cavaliers,

* *Hic septem dominos videre montes,
Et totam licet æstimare Romam;
Albanos quoque, Tusculosque colles, &c.*

INTRODUCTION.

iii

liers, whom we met last night at the conversation in the *Colonna* palace; one the son of a *Muscovite* nobleman, the other a *Spaniard* from the colony of *Cbili*.

It seems, replied the youngest of the company, to be a peculiar felicity attending this city, that it should always have the power of drawing to it foreigners from the most distant parts of the world. I remember, with great pleasure, that epigram of *Martial*; which we learnt together at *Westminster*; and which was written in honour of *Titus's* amphitheatre, the majestic ruins of which we now see from hence still towering above the highest cypresses on the *Palatine* hill.

Quæ tam seposita est, quæ gens tam barbara, Cæsar,

Ex quâ spectator non sit in urbe tuâ?

Venit ab Orpæo cultor Rhodopeius Hæmo:

Venit & epoto Sarmata pastus equo:

Et qui prima bibit deprensi flumina Nili,

Et quem supremæ Tetbyos unda ferit.

Festinauit Arabs: festinauere Sabæi;

Et Cilices nimbis hîc maduere suis

Crinibus in nodum tortis venere Sicambri;

Atque aliter tortis crinibus Æthiopes.

VOL. I.

B

Vox

Vox diversa sonat : populorum est vox tamen una,

Cum verus patriæ diceris esse pater.

Even now, though all the dominion, and the greatest part of the glory of antient *Rome* is lost, yet the attractive influence of this city seems to be rather extended than contracted. The modern *Romans* have reason, surely, for their common proverb, That the walls of their city are built of loadstone. What earnest impatience did we all feel in our last day's journey, when arrived at the *Ponte Milvio*, at the distance only of one short mile from *Rome* ! With what pain shall we all, I am afraid, take leave of this happy place ! The same are the sensations of all our countrymen, whom we have had the pleasure of meeting here, whether gentlemen on their travels, or resident artists. Almost every one of these is enraptured with the great and noble pleasures of this city ; and is following, with some degree of ardour, some of the six studies of the place. How ought we to rejoice in the happy taste of *music*, which some of our countrymen here enjoy ! How pleased ought we to be with the progress which others are making in the study of true *architecture* ! (though indeed I cannot avoid thinking,

INTRODUCTION.

v

ing, that much of the modern architecture in *Rome*, is greatly inferior to that with which *Inigo Jones*, and others, have adorned our country.) Above all, how agreeable is the conversation of those, who are capable of explaining to us the great merits and perfections of those wonders in all the different branches of modern *painting*, and antient *sculpture*, in which almost every great edifice in *Rome* is said to be still (notwithstanding the vast numbers exported) far richer, than many of the principal cities of the world! The *fifth*, *Roman* study, the science of *ecclesiastic* history, seems to be (as I have heard *Crito* observe) the more immediate object of clergymen, who may travel hither. But the *sixth*, the study of *Roman antiquities*, attracts the attention of all. For we all have, from our earliest childhood, been daily hearing or reading something relative to antient *Rome*. And now how pleasing are the classic ideas, which are here continually rising and reviving in our memories! Almost every spot which we tread, every object which we view, recalls to our minds some antient historic or poetic scene.

I SHOULD be very insensible of my great good fortune, replied *Crito*, (by which name the clergyman, who accompanied these noble youths, will be distinguished in these papers) and very ungrateful too, if I did not take all opportunities to acknowledge in my letters to *England*, the high pleasure which I have enjoyed in visiting this city with *three* such agreeable companions. The vivacity of your youthful imaginations, and fresher memory of the historians and poets of antient *Rome*, have not a little enlivened and illustrated every part of my antiquarian studies. But it has been a much greater happiness to me, to have constantly observed, that in all your reflections here on all the various parts, whether of classic history, or of poetic fable, you have always dwelt with manifest pleasure on *those* ideas, which were most relative to goodness of heart.

I SHALL always think, with particular satisfaction, of your conversation on that morning, when we began our course of antiquities, by visiting the valley between the *Capitoline* and *Palatine* hills. Walking from this *Janiculan* side of the *Tiber*, to the foot of the *Capitoline* mount,

INTRODUCTION. vii

munt, the eldest of this triumvirate spoke
 with raptures of the golden reign of *Saturn*,
 the seat of whose government is said to have
 been on that hill. Then turning to the right,
 to the forum *Boarium*, where the *Ara Maxima*
 was placed, the youngest of this company
 pleased himself with the imagination, that
 perhaps on that very spot *Hercules* stood
 resting on his club (according to his *Farnese*
 attitude) after having delivered the inhabi-
 tants of this place from the tyranny of the
 cruel *Cacus*. Nor did he omit to remind us
 of the other good action said to be done by
 that beneficent hero in this city; I mean, his
 having abolished the cruel *Celtic* superstition,
 then observed here, of human sacrifices.
 Walking on a little farther to the place of
 the *Lupercal*, my pupil spoke with pleasure
 of the rural altar, which the good *Evander*
 there erected to *Arcadian Pan*; being always
 mindful of his native country, however far re-
 moved from it.

——— *gelidâ sub rupe Lupercal*
Parrhasio dictum Panos de more Lycei.

He then recollected several other verses of
 that part of the eighth *Æneid*, the scene of

which is laid in those valleys round the *Palatine* mount. Tears stood in all your eyes, while, thinking of your loving parents in *England*, you heard him repeat the moving description of the parting of *Evander* and *Pallas*: *Evandrus dextram complexus euntis hæsit, inexpletum lacrymans*. Nor could I, looking on you my dear *three* young friends, then help silently wishing that *Virgil* had so contrived his poem, as to have introduced in it some conversation picture, between those *three* young princely neighbours, *Pallas*, *Ascanius*, and *Lausus*, who were all *three* so mutually worthy of each others friendship.

SUCH, dear sirs, was the benevolence of heart, which shone in all the ideas of your youthful *imagination*s; while in the *Palatine* valley, by the side of the rivulet of *Juturna*, you recollected the *first*, and probably *fabulous* (at least *poetical*) parts of the history of this city.

THE same benevolence has added the truest dignity to all the *judicious reflections*, which I have since heard you make on several *real* events of the following ages.

INDEED

INTRODUCTION.

ix

INDEED, during that whole happy month, while I had the daily pleasure to attend you, and your learned antiquarian, through every part of this city and its suburbs, I have constantly, with great satisfaction, observed the same blessed nature of your hearts.

WHEN you were conducted by that learned and worthy gentleman to the trophies of *Marius*, or of *Cæsar*, to the triumphal arch of the bloody *Septimus Severus*, to the extensive ruins of the *Villa Albana* of *Domitian*, or to the stately remains of the vast *Thermæ* of *Caracalla*, you examined indeed those objects with the proper curiosity of scholars; and (as far as I could judge) with the true taste of architects and sculptors. But how different was that ardent rapture, that insatiable eagerness, with which you viewed and reviewed every obscure or retired place, every small mossy ruin, which seemed to bear any relation to the memory of those truly virtuous heroes, whose exalted characters adorn the annals of royal, republican, or imperial *Rome*? For indeed, in all the ages of the long history of this city, in all the times both of its prosperities and adversities, many

great examples have here appeared, not only of fortitude, but also of benevolence, generosity, and of many other virtues.

THIS most happy disposition of your good hearts encourages me, my dear young friends, to make the following proposal to you. You intend still to stay five or six weeks longer at *Rome*; and to employ that time in taking a second view of the several scenes of this great theatre of antiquities. Shall I take the liberty to propose to you, to consider and examine these in the light in which my good young pupil has considered most of the principal places through which he has passed in his way from *England* hither? Wherever he has for any time resided, he has constantly taken that opportunity; not only of refreshing his memory in the principal events of the public history of that city or state; but also of reading, while on the spot, the best memoirs which he could find of the lives and characters of the greatest and best men, that ever adorned that country. While at *Genoa*, he thus kept company with *Columbus*, and *Andrew Doria*; while at *Florence*, with *Lorenzo the Magnificent*,
and

and *Cosmo de Medicis*, the father of his country. My dear pupil's studious hours being thus employed, you will easily conceive what pleasure and advantage it must be to him, when in company with the natives he found the conversation turn on these very characters; and, when in surveying the curiosities of the places he not only thought himself continually treading in their steps, but frequently met with monuments and memorials of their exalted merit.

As soon as we had crossed the *British Channel*, (the smooth seas, and serene sky, the bright sun, and prosperous gales of which voyage, were surely no improper emblems, or false omens, of the happiness with which every part of our ensuing travels has been most remarkably blessed) he immediately visited, with the greatest pleasure, those places, which are mentioned in the histories of the first prince of *Orange*, of *Jean de Witt*, of *Barneveldt*, and his friend *Grotius*, and of all the other heroes and patriots of the *Seventeen Provinces*; among these giving his peculiar attention to the physic garden at *Leyden*, the late seat of study of the humane

humane and religious *Boerhaave*; and to the carpenter's yard near *Amsterdam*, the most glorious habitation of *Peter the Great*. With similar raptures he viewed in *France* the tombs of *Colbert* and of *Catinat*; the sepulchres of president *Molé* and of *Guesclin*, joined to that of his worthy master, *Charles the Wise*; the field in *Lombardy* where *Bayard*, the field near *Straßburg* where *Turenne* fell. With similar reverence did I also (though I hope always duly sensible and mindful of the great merit of many ecclesiastical *British* characters) then visit, with my pupil, the churches where *Suger* and *Fenelon* often prayed for their country, and for all mankind; I mean those of *St. Dennis* and *Cambray*: the church of *Melancthon*, that best tempered reformer, at *Wittenberg*; the church of *Thomas à Kempis* at *Zwoll*; the hospital of *Paris* where the bishop of *Bellay* died: the tomb of *Erasmus* at *Basil*, and his statue at *Rotterdam*; the studious cell of *Fra. Paolo* at *Venice*; the domestic chapel and pest-house of the excellent *Borromeo* at *Milan*; and the sepulchre of his imitator the good bishop of *Marseilles*, the inscription of which last is already kissed away by the grateful people. If
this

this my dear pupil and friend, my dear fellow-student and fellow traveller, was not present, I would add, that he has thus made almost every stage of his travels a part of one continued course of the study of goodness as well as wisdom: he must give me leave to add, (though he blushes so much) that I hope this study, thus deeply imprinted on *both* our minds, will become indeliable, and make us return at last to our country *both* better men.

As to the *Roman* history, it is certain, there is no place in the whole world where it can be studied with such pleasure, spirit, and advantage, as here. Such a study, in this place, (if it was only a refreshment of the memory, as to the principal events) would make every day which travellers pass here, still much more agreeable to them. But however this may be, surely we must not leave *Rome* without having again more fully considered, while on the spot, those characters, which, in our distant countries, we have been taught from our infancy so much to admire; or without having again respectfully visited whatever here can be looked upon as any kind of monument of their memories.

memories *. In revisiting these, we shall necessarily review all the other antiquities ; they lie so mixed together. But by making these the principal objects of our attention, we shall certainly be much more nobly employed, than if we studied only to gratify our curiosity in general. Our minds will grow great by conversing daily with these great ideas : and you, sir, will be assisted (this he said, and with a kind smile took hold of the hand of the youngest and noblest of the company) in carrying home with you, not only a very fine collection of antique *Cameos* and *Intaglias* ; but (what will be of much more consequence to your country, and is much more, I am sure, desired by yourself) a set of the best *Roman* virtues deeply engraven on your heart.

As

* Naturâne nobis datum dicam an errore quodam, ut cum ea loca videamus, in quibus memoriâ dignos viros acceperimus multum esse versatos, magis moveamur, quam si quando eorum ipsorum aut facta audiamus, aut scriptum aliquod legamus? Velut ego nunc moveor. Venit enim mihi Platonis in mentem, quem acceperimus primum hîc disputare solitum : cujus etiam illi hortuli propinqui non memoriam solum mihi afferunt, sed ipsum videntur in conspectu meo hic ponere. Hîc Speusippus ; hîc Xenocrates ; hîc ejus auditor Polemo, cujus ipsa illa sessio fuit, quam videmus. Equidem etiam Curiam nostram (hostiliam dico, non hanc novam ; quæ mihi minor videtur, postquam est major) solebam intuens, Scipionem, Catonem, Lælium, nostrum verò imprimis avum cogitare. Tanta vis est admonitionis in locis ; ut, non sine causâ, ex his memoriæ deducta sit disciplina. CICERO *de finibus*, lib. v. sub. initio.

INTRODUCTION.

xv

As what I have taken the liberty to propose seems not to be disagreeable to the company, I will venture to own, that I have already drawn up some papers relative to such a design. Those papers are probably *full* of faults : but the greatest fault of them is the unworthiness of their compiler. Yet reject them not on that account ; though I have nothing to plead, in my excuse, but my intention only : my intention of being of some service to you, my dear young friends ; and also of acquiring to myself some instruction and improvement from such a study. Permit me to apply to the present case a reflection, with which I lately met in an *Italian* translation of a celebrated ecclesiastic writer. *Del resto, il mio caro lettore, è vero ch'io scrivo della vita divota, senza essere divoto ; ma non già al certo senza desiderio di diventarlo. E perciò questo affetto mi dà animo ad instruirti. Perché, disse Sant' Agostino, avviene spesso, che l'ufficio d'insegnare serve di fondamento ad imparare.*

As a further inducement to you to receive these my papers with your usual humanity and charity, I could quote to you a very applicable sentiment

sentiment of *Dionysius*. Φαυλοι μεν εν ημεις γε,
 ως περι τηλικητων λεγοντες, και πολυ τε προσηκοντες
 ανδραγεροι· τα δε πραγματα εφαιλα υπερ αν λαζομεν.

HERE *Crito* paused. The young gentlemen
 with great ardour, and with many thanks, ac-
 cepted his proposal : earnestly desiring, that he
 would begin this course of lectures on the very
 next morning.

I SHALL with great pleasure obey your com-
 mands, replied *Crito*. The character which
 I shall first propose to your consideration, will
 be that of *Numa* : a character justly claiming
 the first place in the catalogue of the true
 worthies of antient *Rome*.

I COULD have heartily wished, said the eldest
 of the young gentlemen, that *Romulus* had
 been worthy of that honour. I could have
 wished this, not only on account of the vene-
 ration which we ought to bear to the memory
 of the founders of cities and nations ; but also
 as it would be more regular to begin this
 course of *Roman* studies with the character of
 the

of the first king of Rome, rather than with that of the second.

I could also heartily wish the same, replied Crito : but we must not do it. However, tho' we cannot place *Romulus* in the catalogue of true worthies ; yet, as we have at present an hour's leisure, we may take this opportunity, if you please, to converse a little on his history : and thus (as a kind of introduction to our proposed course of *Roman* studies) to pay some kind of *due* respect to his memory. For, according to your just observation, we surely ought not to pass over his name in silence, at this time, that we are enjoying so glorious a prospect of the city, which he founded.

THE conversation now wandered for some time on various topics, though all relative to the history of *Romulus*. Crito's pupil repeated several passages in the antient poets ; and his youngest friend spoke of several antique coins, gems, statues, and bas-relievos, the sculptures of which were allusive to it.

You

You may remember, said *Crito*, (sitting down on the bench) that about nine or ten days ago, on the 21st of this month of *April*, you made a visit to one of the *Roman* noblemen, then at his villegiatura near *Albano*. In the mean time I employed myself at *Rome* in the following manner.

I ROSE early, and covered one of your tables with every thing which I could find in your apartments relative to *Romulus*, whether medals, gems, or impressions of seals in wax. On another table I placed the first volume of *Livy*, of *Dionysius Halicarnasseus*, and of my pupil's pocket edition (in *English*) of *Plutarch's* Lives. I then sat down to the examination of the rich furniture of both those tables; I sometimes studied them separately, sometimes I compared them together. In this pleasing amusement the morning slid away imperceptibly: nor did I, while taking in haste a morsel of dinner, envy you in the magnificence of that splendid entertainment, to which you were then sitting down at the country-palace of your noble friend.

AFTER

AFTER dinner I immediately resumed the same study; till about two and twenty o'clock in the afternoon; when I went out to refresh myself with my usual solitary evening walk.

I HASTENED to the narrow valley, which lies between the *Palatine* and *Capitoline* hills. In that valley, you know, there is to this day standing entire an antique circular edifice of brick; at present called the church of St. *Theodore*, but antiently the temple of *Romulus*; being built on the very spot, where the two helpless infants were found *vagientes in fluminis alluvie*. With great pleasure did I there recollect the affecting descriptions; which I have often heard you repeat from the classics, relative to that moving spectacle; a spectacle, imagined capable of softening the cruelty even of the blood-thirsty she-wolf.

Illam tereti cervice reflexâ

Mulcere alternos, & corpora fingere linguâ.

After having satisfied myself with the full survey of that venerable edifice; and after having, with the diligence of a botanist, examined whether, among the old ruins behind

it, I could not find some young shooting plants, which I might fancy to be the descendants of the *ruminal* fig-tree; I continued my walk through the valleys, which on all sides surround mount *Palatine*. I pleased myself with the imagination, that in this tour I was perhaps following the track of that furrow, which *Romulus* plowed round the *Palatine* hill, as the mark of the boundaries of his new city. It was an additional pleasure to recollect that the 21st of April was the day of that great event.

SCARCE a quarter of a mile westward from the church of *St. Theodore* stands the church of *St. Anastasia*; a modern fabrick; but built on the ruins of that temple of *Neptune*, which was the place of the rape of the *Sabines*.

THERE I turned round the western corner of the hill, and walked along that broad valley, which lies between the *Palatine* and *Aventine* mounts. On mount *Aventine*, on my right, was once the tomb of *Remus*; on the lofty side of mount *Palatine*, which was on my left, stood the famous pastoral cottage of *Romulus*; which,

which, together with its adjoining cornel-tree, was preserved by the antient *Romans* during many ages with the greatest veneration. Under the shade of that cornel-tree, how pleasing must have been the solitary meditations of *Varro*, or of *Livy*! How instructive perhaps the antiquarian conversations of those learned foreigners, *Juba* and *Dionysius Halicarnassæus*! Even I myself, while treading that ground, thought that I felt myself growing better informed in the history of those remote ages, the scene of which then lay before my eyes; my imagination certainly was much more ardent than usual upon those subjects.

ABSORBED in these thoughts I turned round the southern point of the hill; and entered into the *Cælian* valley, which led me eastwards to the small plain lying between the *Palatine* and *Esquiline* hills. Turning again there short on my left, into the *Campo Vaccino*, I immediately directed my steps to the antient temple of *Remus* and *Romulus*, which is now called the church of *St. Cosmo* and *Damian*. The walls and dome of that antique fabrick are,

xxii INTRODUCTION.

you know, still entire : even its brazen gate also is truly antique*.

I SAT down on the threshold of that gate ; and heard from within the inner church the found of the chaunt of vespers ; in which I thought I could distinguish some words of the beautiful cxxxiii^d psalm.

*Ecce quàm bonum, & quàm jucundum
Habitare fratres simul in concordia, &c.*

Those words I could not help contrasting with the history of the princely brothers, to whose memory this fabrick was erected. Their bloody discord, how deadly a blot is it on the name of *Romulus* ! how fatal an omen was it to the city, which he was then founding !

*Sic est. Acerba fata Romanos agunt,
Scelusque fraternæ necis :
Ut immerentis fluxit in terram Remi
Sacer nepotibus cruor.*

I rose

* Under the pavement of this church was found that marble plan of antient *Rome*, the fragments of which are now placed on the stairs of the *Capitoline Museum*.

I rose in haste from my seat, and turned my steps to the temple of *Peace*. But before I could pass the corner of the wall on my left, I was suddenly struck with the consolatory reflection, that on the very spot which I was then treading, the reconciliation of the *Romans* and *Sabines* was begun and perfected, by the tears of *Herfilia*. For on that very spot, according to *Dionysius*, were erected the blessed altars of that peace and happy union; *κατα μυστην μαλιστα την καλυμενην ιερων οδον*. Pleased with this idea, I turned my eyes back to the valley between the *Palatine* gate, and the *Capitoline* ascent; and almost literally saw before me all those engagements of the *Romans* and *Sabines*, the description of which I had been reading in the morning. For exactly fronting me, on the other side of the road, was the place of the pool of the brave *Mettius Curtius*; and, some very few yards further, the lofty columns of the temple of *Jupiter Stator*.—— The fortitude of *Romulus*, and his many other virtues, then rose in my memory, and began (if possible) to abate the abhorrence of his vices.

xxiv INTRODUCTION.

ABOUT a stone's cast beyond the pillars of *Jupiter Stator* is the place where the *Ossa Quirini* (you remember that expression in *Horace's* Epodes) are said to be interred; notwithstanding what is related by the other writers, of the confused and contradictory history of those early times, to have happened to them near the *Caprea Palus*, in the *Campo Marzo*. To that place I then drew near; not indeed with such reverential awe as ought to overflow our hearts, when approaching the sepulchres of the holy and virtuous; the sensations I then felt were of a very mixed kind; both horror and admiration, both aversion and respect; such mixed sensations as we should have all been affected with, if we had been spectators, *on that same spot*, of the funeral pile of *Julius Cæsar*.

HAVING thus compleated the circuit of mount *Palatine*, I crossed over the *Capitoline* hill, not without thinking of the temple of *Jupiter Feretrius*, and of the asylum, which *Romulus* there erected. I then ascended the adjoining *Quirinal*, and finished my long walk at the beautiful oval church of *St. Andrew*, which is said to be built exactly on the model
of

of an antient *Roman* temple : in the gardens behind that church stood the magnificent temple of *Quirinus*, of which there are now no remains. In a solitary part of that garden I sat down, and with my pencil wrote the few following lines for my pupil's use.

“ There are several parts of the story of
“ *Romulus* which seem quite fabulous and ro-
“ mantic ; let us pass over these, and direct
“ our attention to those parts of his history
“ which probably were real. On the exami-
“ nation of these, the young reader will find
“ that *Romulus* deserves a very considerable
“ rank in the catalogue of those men, who
“ have been famous for the abilities of their
“ minds, though not for the goodness of their
“ hearts. - Spurred on by ambition and pride,
“ these men frequently atchieve many great
“ actions, some of which are truly laudable,
“ some very much the contrary. Such seems
“ to be the character of *Romulus* ; and as such,
“ it may indeed contain much proper instruc-
“ tion for a judicious student of history, though
“ it never can be thought worthy to be ranked
“ among those far more exalted characters,
C 4 “ which

xxvi INTRODUCTION.

“ which are equally great and good.—Some
“ *few* of those exalted characters may be ob-
“ served regularly to make their appearance
“ in every country, and in every age of the
“ history of the world; and happy are we
“ to esteem ourselves in these glories of the
“ human nature, in these excellent models for
“ our humble imitation. The *Roman* history
“ seems to contain several of these; may we
“ be rightly directed in their choice and
“ study!

“ BUT a far inferior character is now before
“ you; however as it is the first, so I hope it
“ it will be the last of the kind, with which I
“ may trouble you in the course of lectures,
“ which you know I intend for your service,
“ and that of your young friends, as a kind of
“ *select Roman* biography; though in every part
“ of its execution I shall certainly find conti-
“ nual reason to lament my own unworthiness
“ for such an attempt.

“ IN your larger historical studies, you will
“ frequently meet with such characters as this
“ of *Romulus*; and, on that account, it may
“ not be perhaps improper to hint to you the
“ method

“ method which I should propose to you in
“ examining them.

“ FIRST from the great essential defect of
“ these characters, deeply to consider the ne-
“ cessity of fixing one worthy end and noble
“ object, to which you may most wisely and
“ invariably steer during the whole voyage of
“ life ; that object can be no other than this,
“ THE ATTAINMENT OF THE DIVINE FA-
“ VOUR, PARTICULARLY BY DOING AS
“ MUCH GOOD AS POSSIBLE TO MANKIND.
“ Without this happy and noble motive, how
“ imperfect and vain are all the works of
“ public or private life ? Without this habi-
“ tual sublime intention, how strangely are the
“ abilities employed of these princes, states-
“ men, &c. who are vulgarly called great and
“ wise ? Great indeed are they in many arti-
“ cles, but mean in the greatest ; wise in
“ every thing, except only in the ultimate de-
“ sign, aim, and end of all their actions.

“ AFTER having made yourself thoroughly
“ sensible of this great and most unhappy
“ deficiency, which utterly excludes such cha-
“ racters

xxviii INTRODUCTION.

“ racters from the high rank of true heroes ;
“ (into which rank indeed we must again and
“ again repeat, that no character, however
“ richly endowed with abilities of mind, can
“ properly be admitted, except it be possessed
“ of equal goodness also) you may then with-
“ draw your attention from this disagreeable
“ subject ; and apply yourself to the study of
“ whatever may be found truly laudable, in
“ their actions, or in their qualities of mind.

“ MUCH of this kind may be found in the
“ history of *Romulus* strangely superior either
“ to the general scope, or to the other parts
“ of his life. For not now to take notice of
“ his fortitude, and other military virtues, (in
“ which perhaps he was as great a character
“ as ever afterwards appeared in this warlike
“ city) with what candour does *Dionysius* en-
“ large on the political wisdom of his civil
“ and religious institutions ? How exemplary
“ indeed was his political mercy to the neigh-
“ bouring nations whom he conquered ? How
“ exemplary also his political care of the in-
“ crease of his people, not only by the insti-
“ tution of his Asylum, but by other far
“ more laudable methods of population ? for
“ not-

“ notwithstanding all the loss suffered in his
 “ bloody wars, he, during his reign, had en-
 “ creased the number of his people, in the
 “ amazing proportion, as from three to forty-
 “ seven. *.

“ MAY many new *British* cities, now rising
 “ on the banks of the lakes and rivers of
 “ *America*, (in comparison of which indeed
 “ the lake of *Alba*, and this river of the *Tiber*,
 “ are but as a small pond and rivulet) be blessed
 “ with governors and legislators full of such
 “ political wisdom, and of far greater good-
 “ nefs of heart !

“ IT is indeed probable, that *Dionysius* has
 “ too much favoured the character of *Romulus*
 “ in several parts of his picture of it. He
 “ seems indeed to have given to that warlike
 “ prince the reputation of many legislative
 “ institutions, which much more probably are
 “ to

* Ταυτα τε δη και αλλα ττοις ομοια καταγεσημεν. Πολιτευματα
 ε γαλην εκ μικρας εποιστε την αποικιαν, ως αυτα τα εργα εδηλωσεν. Οι
 μιν γαρ συνοικισαντες μετ' αυτη την Ρωμην, ε πλειες ησαν ανδρων τρισχι-
 λων περσοι, και τριακοσιων ελαττες ιππεις* οι δε καταλειφθεντες υπ' εκεινη
 οτε εξ ανθρωπων ηφανισθη, περσοι εξακισχιλιοι περσ. τετταρσι μυριασιν,
 ιππεις δε ε πολλοι απιχοντες χιλίων. DIONYS. lib. ii.

Romuli exemplo, omnes Romæ reges civitatem exteris donabant.

xxx INTRODUCTION.

“ to be ascribed to some of his royal successors,
“ particularly *Numa* and *Servius Tullius* ; or
“ to some of the first republican patriots, particularly *Publicola*. But however this may
“ be, yet certainly several of these institutions
“ (whoever was their real author) have much
“ good in them ; and highly deserve the attention of all young students in history ;
“ peculiarly those who are preparing themselves (as some of your young friends are)
“ for the duties of a senatorial life.”

AFTER having written these few pages, I left the gardens where I was sitting near the place of the great *Quirinal* temple, proposing, as soon as I could reach my lodgings, to sit down again to some of the books which I left on your table, and to extract from them a more particular account of all the *laudable* actions of *Romulus*. Accordingly, before I went to bed, I read over again his life in *Plutarch*, together with the *following* life of *Lycurgus* ; which last I began indeed accidentally, but could not leave unfinished. I was indeed so much pleased with many parts of the wise and mild character of the *Spartan* legislator, that when I rose in the morning I thought it would

not be improper if I was, for your use, to endeavour to contrast it with that of the founder of *Rome*. I was the more willing to make this attempt, as I imagined that such a contrast might serve to reflect a strong and true light on the good, as well as on the bad actions of *Romulus*. I was still the more inclined to it, as the character of *Lycurgus* seemed to me to contain much instruction for persons of every time of life, and to claim peculiar veneration from all young travellers, whether studious of political wisdom, or of polite literature; but, on second thoughts, I judged such an attempt would be very unnecessary, for it was with great pleasure that I recollected having heard at large your own sentiments on those very same characters.

It was, I very well remember, during the last month of our stay in *England*, that we passed a day together at *St. Albans*, with the curiosity of foreigners; the morning was employed in viewing the abbey, and riding round the circuit of old *Verulam*, the afternoon in visiting the adjoining house of lord *Bacon*. The gallery of that house we found filled with the
names

xxxii INTRODUCTION.

names and painted busts of many celebrated patriots and legislators of antiquity, as well as of many conquerors, and founders of potent monarchies from *Sesostris* down to *Ottoman*. Among the first of these we observed, in the upper part of the gallery, the name of *Lycurgus*; and, on the other side, opposite to it, that of *Romulus*. Looking on the name of *Lycurgus*, you entered into a most pleasing conversation on the virtues, as well as on the abilities of that truly great man; both his goodness and his wisdom had indeed been frequently the subject of your admiration, during your studies at the university. Looking on the name of *Romulus*, you spoke with proper respect of his great abilities, with proper candour of his many *good* actions, and with proper concern of those which were very much the contrary. You sighed at the mention of the name of lord *Bacon*, and most ardently expressed your wishes that he had filled his gallery with those characters only which were equally good and great; and that, in his studious meditations there, he had as diligently and successfully endeavoured to imitate the virtues of the most perfect of men, as he rivaled the abilities of the wisest.

BUT

INTRODUCTION. xxxiii

BUT let us not dwell any longer on this subject. The sun is now setting, and, during the first half hour after sun-set, the dews of this climate are very chilling and dangerous; let us rather think of returning home to our lodgings, than of sitting here any longer in the open air.



THE company now walked down the hill: they passed by the side of several cascades, and entered into the more ornamented parts of the *Corfini* gardens. At the foot of the hill is that verdant theatre, where the *Academicians*, called *Quirini*, hold their annual assemblies.

AT the last meeting of the academy here, said *Crito*, the first composition which was recited, was (as I am informed) an oration on the character of *Numa*. How strongly must the minds, both of the orator, and of the audience, have been affected by the reflection, that they were then standing so near to the grave of that good and wise king*!

MAY

* *Numa conditus est sub Janiculo.* Vid. *Livy*.

The large woods and vineyards of the *Corfini* palace cover a very considerable part of that side of the *Janiculan* hill which fronts

xxxiv INTRODUCTION.

MAY it also be a good omen to us in our present undertaking, that we have begun it near the tomb of *Numa*!

TO-MORROW morning we will endeavour to consider his glorious character.

THERE are some monuments of his memory on the other side of *Rome*, on the rising ground behind the *Barberini* palace; but instead of visiting those, I imagine that you will rather chuse (especially at this pleasant season of the year) to take a morning's ride into the country, to the *Egerian* valley, his beloved rural retirement, and favourite seat of meditation.

ROMAN

fronts *Rome*; the palace itself, with its gardens, lie at the feet of the same hill. It is therefore highly probable, that the grave of *Numa* is somewhere either within those gardens, or very nearly adjoining to them.

In one of the libraries at *Rome* (if I am not mistaken, in that of the *Collegio Romano*) is a manuscript volume written several hundred years ago, containing a kind of description, with some very indifferent drawings, of the antiquities of *Rome*. Among these is represented (how truly I know not) the tombs and epitaphs both of *Romulus* and *Numa*. But there is not at present any trace left of either of those tombs, nor is there any tradition at *Rome* of their exact situation, excepting only that the sepulchre of *Romulus*, according to *Varro* and *Visitor*, was near the temple of *Jupiter Stator*, in the *Forum*; and that of *Numa*, somewhere at the feet of the *Janiculan* hill.



ROMAN CONVERSATIONS.

BOOK I.

CHAPTER I.

FIRST DAY'S CONVERSATION.

*It Ver, & Venus ; & veris prænuncius ante
Pinnatus graditur Zephyrus vestigia propter :
Flora quibus mater præspersgens ante viai
Cuncta coloribus egregiis, & odoribus opplet.*

SUCH was the beauty and sweetness of the spring, such the serenity of the morning of the first of *May*, when this company of friends met in the *Via Sacra*, at the temple of *Peace*.

OPPOSITE to that temple they found their coach waiting for them, at the gate of the *Farnese* gardens ; which gate is supposed to be nearly

D

in

2 ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. Book I.

in the same place where the *Porta Mugonia* stood, during that first part of the reign of *Romulus*, while *Rome* was confined within the limits of the quadrangular *Palatine* hill.

THEY seated themselves in the coach, and proceeded with great pleasure to the *Egerian* valley, which lies in the country about three or four miles distant. In their way thither, as they passed along the side of *Monte Calio*, (which hill derived its name from its first inhabitant, the *Etruscan Cælius*, who settled on it during *Romulus's* reign) the conversation was turned by *Crito* to the history of *Italy* in those early times, which preceded, or nearly followed the building of *Rome*; he made, in particular, several reflections on the state of *Etruria* in those remote ages*.

ETRURIA, said he, was then a very considerable nation; its dominions extended from the mouth of the *Tiber* to the *Alps*; its maritime power was formidable over all the western parts of the *Mediterranean*. Nor was that country less remarkable for its arts and sciences. How often, dear sir, (in speaking this, *Crito* addressed himself to the youngest and most noble of the company) have you with great curiosity examined, in the *Italian* museums, the
relics

* Vide *Livii*, lib. v. chap. 33.

Chap. I. ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. 3

relics of *Etruscan* sculpture, and with great pleasure admired, on several vases, the elegant designs of *Etruscan* pencils? How pleasing is the observation, which I have heard you make on those occasions? I mean, that *Etruria*, in these arts, seems to have been to *Rome* what *Egypt* was to *Greece*.

ROME, indeed, in several respects, bore a strong *filial* similitude to *Etruria*; many of its civil institutions were copied from thence, by *Romulus*, and the elder *Tarquin*; many of its religious institutions by *Numa*, by *Ancus* also, if I am not mistaken; and afterwards by several magistrates of the republic*. Nor was it without reason, that, in our late journey through *Tuscany* hither, we often thought that the history of antient *Etruria*, if it could be thoroughly recovered, would be one of the best kinds of introduction to the history of *Rome*. In viewing the multitude of *Etruscan* inscriptions still remaining, particularly in the caverns near *Tarquinius*, how often did we wish for the discovery of some certain method of reading those characters? the language of which is probably a dialect of the *Celtic*, and the contents of which would perhaps cast some considerable

D 2

light

* See *Cicero de Divinatione*, lib. i. chap. 41. and *Valerius Maximus*, in the beginning of the 1st chap. of the 1st book.

light on the dark history of *Italy* in those primæval times.

It is said, that *Etruria* very early received, and incorporated into itself, some considerable *Asiatic* and *Grecian* colonies, and perhaps also some from *Egypt*; and it is probable, that great part of its glory is to be attributed to these colonies.

THE coach had by this time reached the old walls of *Rome*; they passed through the southern gate, commonly called *St. Sebastians*, and proceeded on that famous paved way, which leads from *Rome* to *Naples*, and from *Naples* even to *Brundisium*. After some pause *Crito* resumed his discourse in the following manner,

THE coasts of the southern parts of *Italy* were very soon after the siege of *Troy* filled with *Grecian* settlements; and the history of that country, in those early times, is perhaps more worthy of your curious attention even than that of *Etruria*. How fortunate would it be, if we could extend, not only our studies, but our travels also, into those parts of *Italy* beyond *Naples*? How pleased would the noble *dilettante* of this company be in viewing the antique architecture of the temples at *Pæstum*, (the antient Ποσειδωνιον) and in collecting elegant coins in the neighbourhood of *Tarentum*? How happy

Chap. I. ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. §

happy would the *patriotic politician* of this triumvirate be in treading in the footsteps of the legislators of *Magna Græcia*, *Charondas* and *Zaleucus*, the disciples of *Pythagoras*? How happy would you be, my dear *philosophic* pupil, if you could find at *Crotone*, or *Metapontum*, any remains of that temple of *Ceres*, which was once the habitation of *Pythagoras* himself?

CRITO now, at the desire of his pupil, gave the company a short account of the most *respectable* parts of the *real* character of *Pythagoras*. He mentioned the amiable behaviour of that philosopher in his early youth, and his exemplary diligence during his travels, whether while studying philosophy and the arts in *Babylonia* and *Egypt*, or legislation in *Crete* and *Sparta*. He described more at large his beneficence to *this* part of the world, by importing, on the conclusion of his travels, into the southern parts of *Italy*, the various and great blessings of all the different regions through which he had passed, or with the wise and learned natives of which he had conversed.

Πολιτειαν βελτιστην, νομοθεσιαν τε, και Φειδω των αλλων ζων, (that noble *Indian* virtue) και εγκρατειαν, και σωφροσυνην· προς πρεσβυτερους μεν ευκοσμιαν, προς πατερας δε ευνοϊαν, προς αλλους φιλανθρωπιαν, προς αδελφους δε κοινωνιαν· Μαλιστα δε παντων, Θειοτητα, και θρησκειαν θεων.

6 ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. Book I.

NOR are we, said he, to omit what has been by several learned writers asserted, most highly to his honour, that he really taught, that there was but ONE GOD, the original and cause of all things, who enlightens every thing, animates every thing, and from whom every thing proceeds; though, as to this having been his real glorious doctrine, I must own I am in some doubt.

CRITO then proceeded to examine the famous tradition, that *Numa*, besides having studied in *Etruria* the religious wisdom of that country, had also the fortune to be instructed in the religious wisdom of *Greece*, *Egypt*, and of all the east, by the means of *Pythagoras*, one of whose *Italian* disciples he is said to have been*. *Crito* observed, how much that antient tradition was, by the arguments of Sir *Isaac Newton*, and Mr. *Hooke*, cleared from its chief chronological objections: he observed also, as a further argument of its truth, the great *similarity* between the pious and pacific policy of this philosophic king, and of that legislative philosopher. Among several other *parallel* circumstances of their conduct, he took particular notice of the motives which influenced *Pythagoras* to pay peculiar honour to the doctrine of *silence*,
and

* Vide several of the antient writers, particularly *Ovid*, in the beginning, and again in the 480th line of the 15th book of the *Metamorphoses*.

Chap. I. ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. 7

and to erect a temple to the *Muses*, at his favourite city of *Crotona**. He mentioned also the grotto, to which *Pythagoras* often retired, in the suburbs of *Samos*†.

CRITO now, according to the natural wandering of conversation, was beginning to talk of his favourite subject, viz. the usefulness of a quiet place of retirement to all persons who are engaged in the study of any important science, or in the planning of any great scheme of beneficence, when the conversation was suddenly interrupted by the sound of some rural music. The coach stopped, and the company, on getting out, found themselves in a meadow, which is part of the *Egerian* valley. In this meadow appeared several circles of country people of both sexes, dressed in their holiday clothes, crowned with garlands of flowers, and dancing to the sound of some *Abruzzo* bagpipes. On enquiring the occasion of so much joy and gaiety in so solitary a place, this *English* company were informed by their *Roman* servants, that it was an anniversary festival kept always on

D 4

this

* Τοις Κροτωνιαταῖς συμβαλεῖν ἰδρύσασθαι Μουσῶν ἱερὸν ἵνα τηρῶσι τὴν ὑπαρχχῆσαι ὁμονοίαν Ταύτας γὰρ τὰς Θείας &c. Vid. *Jamblicum*.

† Εξω τῆς πόλεως οἰκίον τῆς αὐτῆς φιλοσοφίας αὐτῶν ποιησάμενος, ἐν τούτῳ τὰ πολλὰ τῆς νυκτὸς καὶ τῆς ἡμέρας διέτριβε, καὶ τὴν ζήτησιν ἐποίειτο τῶν ἐν τοῖς μαθήμασι χρησίμων, τῶν αὐτῶν τρόπων Μῶν τῷ τε Διὶ μὴ διασηθῆις.

this day, and in this place, by the neighbouring peasants; that this custom had been handed down to these poor people by their ancestors, from time immemorial, but that none of them knew what was the real origin of it. *Crito's* pupil, with great pleasure, then reminded his young friends of what their learned antiquarian had said to them on their first visit to this *Egerian* valley, viz. that the ancient *Romans* had, in honour of the memory of *Numa*, appointed an annual festival to be kept on this spot, on the calends of *May*, which custom was still observed by the neighbouring country people, annually on the first holiday in that month, though more than four and twenty centuries had now elapsed since the blessed reign of that father of his people.

THIS explanation gave great pleasure to the company: with all the happiness of good-nature they looked for some considerable time on the cheerfulness and joy of these peasants; and then walked forwards through the verdant, though very wild and desolate, valley, which lay before them*.

On

* Traversandosi la via, e la *Collina*, comparisce la lunga, e piacevole valle d'*Egeria*, il cui fonte è a guisa di *Spe'onca*, detto della *Caffarella* da i duchi di tal nome, che ne erano possessori, ora del prencipe *Pallavicini*. Lo speco della fontana è incavato dentro la *Collina*, e sopra nel piano vi era il tempio delle *Camene*, con alcune colonne tra la mura della *Facciata*,
al

Chap. I. ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. 9

On the right of that valley is a small rising ground covered with vines, on which is still remaining, almost entire, a large antient temple, generally supposed

al presente dedicato a St. *Urbano* che vi fu sepolto; nella volta restano alcuni stucchi antichi, ma rimodernati; pretende il *Nardini* che vi si vedono ancora vestigi de' tempietti dedicati a *Giove, Saturno, Giunone, Venere, Diana*, che io per altro non vi ho saputo trovare. La chiesa di St. *Urbano* fu scoperta nelle *Vigne* quasi sepolta nel 1634, dal P. *Cesare Birilli* Prete dell' oratorio: e *Urbano VIII.* la ristorò di nuovo, e ritocò le antiche figure, essendo qui sotto il *Cimiterio di Pretestato*. La fontana d' *Egeria* è quell' antico, non meno che celebre, luogo nel quale *Numa Pompilio* fingeva di consultare la nimfa *Egeria*, onde rimase questo fonte in somma venerazione; se non che al tempo di *Giovenale* col *Boschetto* delle Muse venne allogato agl' *Ebrei*. Nella nicchia vedesi una statua giacente senza testa; simulacro di questo fonte, essendovi scolpite le acque a pie di esso. Tanto le nicchie per le nove Muse, quanto le pareti mostrano essere antichissime, ed in qualche tempo restaurate, vedendovisi framischiato lavoro di piccioli sassi commessi d' opera reticolare. Vi si vedono sparsi per terra alcuni capitelli probabilmente del tempio delle *Camene*, che è sopra questo fonte: oltre detti capitelli, e altri marmi per terra, era nel mezzo di questa fonte d' *Egeria* una gran tavola di Marmo che si teneva qualche specie d' antichità, adesso n' è stato fatto altr' uso. Nella prima *Domenica di Maggio* concorre il popolo a divertirvisi, bevendo dell' acqua del fonte, che è ottima, e poco distante dal' altra, che è detta salutare, in oggi salutare bagno del acqua santa. Ambedue quest' acque erano sagre oppresso i *Gentili*; ed ambedue passando la salutare per l' amena valle d' *Egeria*, formano il fiumicello *Almone* sopradetto.

Descrizione del *Agra Romano*, dal P. *Eschinardi*, nuova edizione dall' *Abate Venuti*, page 297.

The young reader will not be displeased at the perusal also of *Plutarch's* short account of this place.

Ετι δε (εφη Νυμας) χρηται Μυστρίς καθιζωται το χωριον εκεινο, και τις περι αυτου λειμωνας, οπου τα πολλα φοιτωσαι σιτι- διατριβουσιν αυτω την δε πηγην, η καταρσαι το χωριον, ιδωμε ισρον αποδειξαι τας Εσιας παρδινους, οπως λαμβανουσαι καδ' ημεραν, κρηζωσι και γαιωσι το ανακλιρον. PLUT. de vitâ Numæ.

supposed to be that which was dedicated, on this spot, to *Silence*, and the Muses. At the foot of this hillock is the grotto of *Numa*; before it, several broken capitals of marble columns lie scattered on the grass; and within it, at the upper end, is still to be seen an antique statue, though much disfigured by time. On each of the three sides of this grotto are three empty niches, in which the statues of the nine Muses once stood. In one corner falls, with a pleasing murmur, a most plentiful spring of the clearest, softest, and sweetest water, called by the peasants *La Fontana Bella*.

*Egeria est, quæ præbet aquas, Dea grata Camænis:
Illa Numæ conjux, consiliumque fuit.*

Repeating these lines, *Crito's* pupil, whose heart was overflowingly full both of poetry and benevolence, wished for some milk and wine to make libations to the benevolent goddess of the place. He stooped down, and took a large draught of this sacred fountain; observing that the situation of this fine spring, thus rising under these niches, put him in mind of the *Castalian* spring in the sacred suburbs of *Delphos*, over which (according to *Wheeler's* description) there are some niches for statues still remaining, and several fragments of marble ornaments still lying near it. He then repeated

Chap. I. ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. 11

repeated some of the beautiful anapæsts in the *Ion* of *Euripides*.

THE youngest gentleman looking on these niches, wished that they were filled with the original antique statues of the Muses, or with such pictures as those in the painted chamber of *Perugia*. How gloriously, added he, has *Pietro Perugino*, that worthy master of *Raphael*, adorned the pannels of that chamber with the representation of several worthies of antient *Rome*, particularly with the most amiable and venerable figure of king *Numa*? I sketch'd out that noble figure during our stay at *Perugia*, and I believe have the drawing with me here in my pocket-book.

WHILE this young gentleman was examining his papers for that drawing, *Crito's* pupil was employing himself in gathering an handful of violets from the banks at the entrance of the cave; he scattered them on the waters of the *Egerian* spring, rapture glistening in his eyes. *Crito* looked on him with earnest and parental fondness; his eyes also were swelling with tears of pleasure, when the company unanimously reminded him of the papers which he mentioned yesterday. He immediately sat down under the shade of an aged olive-tree, and began to read as follows.

NUMA.

N U M A.

NUMA was born at *Cures*, one of the capital cities of that country of the *Sabines*, the lofty mountains of which we have often admired in the prospects from the *Roman Campania*.

He was by nature excellently disposed to virtue ; and this disposition was highly improved ; first, by a good education in his *youth* ; and afterwards, by his moral philosophic studies, which he was so happy as diligently to continue during his manhood. Τὸν ἐγὼ τὸν ἀνδρᾶ (says *Dionysius Halicarnassæus*) ἔκ· αὐ· αἰσχυθεῖν κατὰριθμεῖν ἐν τοῖς πρῶτοις τῶν ἐπ'εὐδαιμονίᾳ διαβαθνεύτων· γένυς τε γὰρ ἐφύ· βασιλεῖν, μορφῆς τε ἀπελαύσε βασιλικῆς· παιδείαν τε ἡσχῆσεν, ὃ τὸν περὶ λόγους ἀχρηστοῦ, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἧς εὐσεβεῖν ἐμάθε, καὶ τὰς ἀλλὰς ἐπιτηδευεῖν ἀρετὰς.

It is also particularly remarked, that some adversities, (those perhaps *best* lessons in a princely education) which *Numa* underwent in the early part of his life, were most highly serviceable to him, in perfecting his excellent frame of mind.

By the joint assistance of all these several means, his breast is said to have been purified, not only from those passions, which are universally considered

dered as vile and mean, but also from those, which by the world are sometimes falsely called virtues.

You, my dear pupil, will be particularly happy in recollecting, that while *Numa* was residing, as a private nobleman, at his country-seat at *Cures*, never was there any thing like a complaint heard in his neighbourhood of his avarice, pride, or oppression of the poor; nor ever in his house were there any marks seen either of false indulgence (*τρυφή*), or wrong expence (*πολυτελεία**). His time and his industry were constantly employed in (that greatest felicity) an *uninterrupted* chain of never-ceasing good actions. It is remarked, that he was in particular always ready to assist all his country neighbours, either as a faithful and sensible counsellor to them in their private affairs, or in the office of an impartial judge, and kind reconciler, between them. The few hours, which these employments daily left to his own leisure, were not passed in idle amusements or pleasures, nor in schemes of acquiring further wealth to himself, but totally consecrated to those exalted studies, which are the worthiest objects of the noblest faculties of the human mind; and to that work, which is the most sublime exercise of them, the worship of the great Creator.

THE

* Vide *Plutarch*.

THE great reputation, which was the natural consequence of such behaviour, induced *Tatius*, (then the chief of the *Sabines*, and who even shared the sovereignty of this city) to offer to *Numa* his daughter in marriage; which offer he was so happy as to see accepted. But this honourable alliance did not in the least affect the mind of *Numa* with pride: he declined living in his father-in-law's state: he continued still to make his country-neighbours happy by his residence among them, and there to protect and nurse the old age of his dear father *Pomponius*.

SOME years afterwards, upon the death of his wife, he retired still further from the world: he visited but seldom even his neighbouring town of *Cures*, but passed most of his time in solitary meditations. Ἀγραυλεῖν τὰ πολλὰ καὶ πλανασθαι μόνῳ ἠθέλει ἐν ἀλσέσι θεῶν, καὶ λειμῶσι ιεροῖς, καὶ τοποῖς ἐρημοῖς, πρὶν μὲν τὴν διαίταν. Nor did this love of retirement proceed from any melancholy turn of mind; on the contrary, solitude was a perpetual fund of happiness to him; for it always was accompanied with its sister philosophic graces, love of Study, and love of Piety.

O MY dear pupil, continued *Crito*, laying aside his papers for some moments, how often have I wished in your classic stile, to dedicate the remainder of my days also, Τη αγαθοφρονηση Οιοτητι κ'αγαθα εργα παρασκευαζηση;

Ω μεγα σεμνα Νυμφα,
Του εμου βιοτου κατεχοις,
Και μη ληγοις γεφαιουσα.

But however this may happen, yet, before we proceed farther in the history of *Numa*, it may not be improper to pause here a while, and make some short reflections on *this* part of his character.

MANY of the philosophical and religious doctrines of antiquity, (particularly those of the *Pythagorean* sect) were wrapt up in poetic and allegoric mythologies. These mythologies might indeed serve to convey to the *adepts* some real and valuable instructions; but, by the uninformed part of mankind, they were frequently misunderstood; and, notwithstanding the most glaring absurdities, taken in the literal sense, as real historical facts. These absurdities were still more multiplied by the superaddition of other popular fables.

THE

THE story of *Numa's* friendship with the wood-nymph *Egeria*, if taken literally, either is excessively absurd, or brings a most heavy charge of imposture on his memory. But far different are the ideas which it conveys, when explained according to its probable allegorical meaning. Retired and silent rural abodes, where the mind can without interruption give itself up to study, have been always beloved by all the children of philosophy, particularly by those of the *Pythagorean* sect. Such were the retirements of *Numa*; and such probably is the whole meaning of this mythological story. For, on examination into the character of *Egeria*, you will probably find it to be a mere allegorical personage. *Dionysius* says, that some writers describe her as one of the *Muses*. Οὐχι συμῶν, ἀλλὰ Μουσῶν μίαν. *Plutarch* says the same; and adds, that one of the titles or names of this *Muse* (which *Numa*, according to the *Pythagorean* doctrines, revered more than any of the nine) was *Tacita*; and that by her, and by the rest of the *Muses*, *Numa* was inspired in all his future legislations.

BUT besides the obvious meaning of this pleasing poetic and philosophic mythology, *Plutarch* seems to be of opinion, that perhaps something of far greater importance lay shadowed under it. Perhaps indeed it may be supposed to contain some
distant

distant allusion to that most sublime doctrine, which has constituted the chief happiness of the wisest philosophers of all ages, viz. that the Deity really condescends to give attention to the *pious* retired meditations of the humble and merciful man. Nor is it strange, that the Deity should be imagined thus to dwell with such who are eminently virtuous: for it is the doctrine of truth itself that the Supreme Being will graciously condescend to communicate its Spirit to the devout and faithful, encreasing their goodness and happiness of heart every day still more and more, and inspiring into their breasts the designs of all their future good actions.

BUT let us not *here* (though in the most cautious manner) presume to enter on such a subject; let us return to our classical studies.



NUMA was living in such retirement, and now in the fortieth year of his age (*φρονιμωτάτη ηλικία*) when he was visited by the ambassadors from *Rome*, offering him the throne which was then vacant, and to which he had been elected by the unanimous voice of all the inhabitants of this city.—*Numa* with sincerity declined this offer: it being his real

opinion, that he was not the proper person for filling that station. *Rome* had from its first foundation been continually breathing the most warlike spirit, continually desirous of some new military enterprize. Whereas he, whom they now so unexpectedly had chosen for their sovereign, was a person of the most opposite disposition; a lover of peace, retirement, and study; and a companion, not of military men, but of those who passed their lives in the quiet occupations of agriculture or pasturage; and who scarce ever assembled together, but to contribute to their mutual cheerfulness and happiness, or to honour the gods on their festivals by their vocal or instrumental music ascending together to heaven in one united harmony.—But on the other hand it was represented, that perhaps these were the very reasons, which ought to influence him to the acceptance of this high and important office: that perhaps Providence was now willing to call into public practice that virtue and wisdom, with which it had so long inspired him in private life; and to use him as an instrument for gradually softening the fierce temper of that warlike nation, bending it under the mild and benign yoke of religion, blessing it by the institution and execution of good laws, and crowning it and all its neighbouring nations with peace, and with all the other blessings, which would flow from the government, and still more abundantly from

from the example of such a sovereign. That on the whole, it was very well known, that *Numa* would not be induced to accept of this offer of the crown, from any consideration of interest; (the royal income being no temptation to so wise a person, who was perfectly happy and contented with his own moderate fortune) nor from any desire of that glory, which attends power and dominion: (he being already surrounded with a much superior glory, the glory of virtue) but that it was also as generally hoped, that he would not decline an office which would open to so wise and good a man so large a field for great and good actions, in benefitting mankind, and in promoting the honour and worship of the Deity.

ON these motives *Numa* accepted the government, and immediately exerted himself in the great duties of it.—It is most highly observable, that the noble objects to which he uniformly directed all the labours of his long reign were these two;

1. *The encouragement of religion:*
2. *The maintaining of peace.*

1. IN relation to the first of these objects, you have with pleasure read in *Dionysius*, that *Numa* instituted in this city

ἔσ' Ἑλλήνις ἢ τε βαρβαρὸς ἔχει πόλιν, καὶ αἱ μέγιστοι
ἐπ' εὐσεβείᾳ φρονῆσαι ποτε. You have heard also, what
even *Machiavel* says on this subject. *Considerato*
dunque tutto conchiudo, che la religione introdotta
da Numa, fu tra le prime cagioni della felicità di
quella città. Perche quella causò buoni ordini ; i buoni
ordini fanno buona fortuna ; &c.—D'altra parte,
nissuno maggiore inditio si puote havere dalla rovina
d'una provincia, che vedere dispregiato il culto divino.
But it was not only from political motives, that
Numa so greatly encouraged the spirit of religion
among his subjects ; he was influenced to it by
much more exalted motives, for his own heart also
overflowed with sincere devotion.

In attending the public worship, he himself
gave to all his people, and to all his court, a con-
stant and most affecting example of piety. He
studied to make the spirit of religion appear amiable
to them all, though at the same time he took the
utmost care not to diminish from its awfulness ;
but by the united means both of its sweetness and
of its majesty, to captivate and convert the hearts
of all his subjects.—It is not to be supposed, but
that in those dark and barbarous ages, even the
wisest men were subject to great errors in religion,
as well as to great superstitions ; nor are we to
wonder but to lament, that the piety of *Numa* was
thus unhappily so very much obscured : it is in par-
ticular

particular however greatly to his honour, that during his reign no bloody sacrifices were seen in any of the temples of *Rome*, (oblations of corn, and libations of liquors were then the only sacrifices*) nor any image or idolatrous representation of the Deity. If any emblem of the supreme nature was then allowed, it was only that of fire or light, according to the *Pythagorean* and oriental doctrines.

2. THE second article consists of two parts. *Internal* peace; that between his subjects: and *external* peace; that between his state, and the neighbouring nations.

IN order to the maintaining *internal* peace and tranquillity, *Numa* was as attentive as any *Chinese* monarch to the encouragement of agriculture; agriculture, that happy general employment, which, at the same time that it frees mankind from the necessity of bad actions for their support, and from the misery of mutual rapine, yet leaves and encourages in all its professors, a proper spirit and strength for the defence of their liberty, and of their several properties. By these united means of religion and of industrious agriculture, *Numa*

E 3

pacified

* In the same manner *Pythagoras* is said, while at *Delos*, to have worshipped at that altar, ος μόνος ἀναπαύετο ἐν αὐτῇ. Vid. *Jamblic.* p. 27.

pacified and quieted the minds of his people; he introduced the greatest tranquillity and order, and in general a strong sense and love of mutual justice and moderation, among the rough and fierce inhabitants of this city, which, at his accession to the throne, was not only vexatious to its neighbours, but also much divided in itself by different seditious factions; particularly of the *Sabine* and *Alban* parties.

NOR were these blessings confined to the times of *Numa*. The spirit of external tranquillity seems indeed to have expired with him, but the spirit of internal peace, and its parents, religion and agriculture, long survived. It is true, that the succeeding kings and governors of *Rome*, who were all perhaps inferior to *Numa*, both in wisdom and goodness, gradually destroyed great part of these and other his noble both political and religious institutions; but yet much remained unhurt both by time and violence, and continued the greatest blessing and honour to the *Roman* nation for several centuries.

SUCH was the reign of *Numa*, in relation to his care of the public tranquillity at home. As to peace with other states, he constantly preserved it inviolable; he endeavoured also to extend that
greatest

greatest of blessings to succeeding ages*. But through the whole length of the *Roman* history, no part is to be found equal in this respect to the true happiness and glory of his reign. For desiring no honour, but the highest (that is, the honour of doing good to mankind); and being convinced in his great wisdom how infinitely superior the works of peace are to those of war, he, during a reign of no less than *forty-three years*, preserved peace on all sides. For the *Roman* was not the only nation, the temper of which was softened and calmed by his mildness, equity, and beneficence†. The same wonderful change, which was produced by these in

E 4

Rome,

* This glorious intention of *Numa* is manifest from his institution of temples and of public divine honours to the god *Terminus*; and to the goddess *Publica Fides*. It is still more manifest from his creation of the office of the *Fecialis*. That office seems to have been originally of the greatest dignity in the state, perhaps superior to the royal authority; at least a curb to it, when willing to engage in an unjust war.—This office by degrees so declined, as at last to become a mere ceremony; which, however, was frequently beneficial to the nations concerned.—Vid. that part of *Plutarch's* life of *Camillus*, which relates to the siege of *Clusum*, and its consequence.

† Regno ita potitus *Numa* urbem novam, conditam vi & armis, jure eam legibusque ac moribus de integro condere parat, &c. Omnium ejus operum maximum fuit tutela per omne regni tempus haud minor pacis, quàm regni, &c. Pietate omnium pectora imbuerat. Quum ipsi se homines in regis, velut unici exempli, mores formarent; tum finitimi etiam populi, qui ante, castra, non urbem, positam in medio ad sollicitandam omnium pacem crediderunt, in eam verecundiam adducti sunt, ut civitatem totam in cultum versam *Deorum*, violari ducerent nefas.

L.v. lib. i.

Rome, communicated itself also to the neighbouring states. The manners of all this tract of *Italy* were visibly changed. In imitation of his instructor *Pythagoras*, *Numa* ἀνείλε ἀρδην ἑασιν καθολῶς ἀπο τῶν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ πόλεων κατὰ τε ἑαυτὰς, καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλας*. Instead of the madness and misery of war, there was universally then seen an ardent love of peace, and of agriculture, of family happiness, and of cheerful piety. The wisdom of *Numa* was the abundant source, from which continually flowed such public goodness and virtue. The tranquillity of his breast was the occasion of the same in the breasts of so many others. Happy himself, he made all others happy: his subjects particularly, who by his example grew wise, and voluntarily conformed themselves to an innocent and happy life, in concord and friendship, in justice and moderation, in industry, and in religion. Surely, dear sir, (in saying this, *Crito* addressed himself to the eldest of the young gentlemen) that prince is of all others the most worthy of his authority, who can bring to effect such a disposition in his subjects, and neighbouring states; and surely, this is the most noble end of all political wisdom.

O MY dear young friend, continued *Crito*, turning to his pupil, it was in this very mead, and by the

* Vide Jambl. chap. 7.

the murmurs of this very fountain, that this good king often walked, or sat in retirement; exalting his mind by such happy and noble meditations, and planning such designs of happiness to mankind. May the idea of this place, of this grotto and spring, of this meadow and rivulet, never depart from your memory! When returned home, may it influence you to find, in your own gardens, or neighbouring fields, something of a similar (and perhaps more beautiful) spot; and to consecrate it (excuse this fancy) as the place of similar meditations; as the place of your study, how best to benefit and bless the poor of your country neighbourhood committed to your care, and how most properly to fill your whole sphere of beneficence to your fellow-creatures.

BUT to conclude. *Numa* died in this happiness at fourscore years of age, and the whole most truly glorious history of his long life was closed by the scene of the great honours sincerely and affectionately paid to him at his funeral. For as he had lived without hatred or envy, without sedition or war, either at home or abroad; so also not only the whole city of *Rome*, but multitudes also of the inhabitants of the neighbouring states joined to pay him the last honours: and to follow him to his grave with tears, and with blessings on his memory.

SCARCE

* * *

SCARCE had *Crito* concluded this paper, when the young gentlemen began to return him their hearty thanks: but to avoid all such compliments, he immediately changed the subject of the discourse, by proposing to the company to return towards *Rome*, before the morning was too far spent.

As soon as the company were seated in the coach, one of the young gentlemen thus addressed himself to *Crito*.

You will not permit us, dear sir, to acknowledge how much we are affected by your kind design in this course of *Roman* lectures; yet suffer us at least to inform you, that, when we returned home yesterday evening from the *Corfini* gardens, we agreed among ourselves to endeavour to behave answerably to your kindness, by allotting two or three hours every day of our private studies, to the re-perusal of the *Roman* history; though indeed some of us have very diligently applied ourselves to that study, ever since our first arrival in *Italy*. By these means we hope to prepare ourselves, in some measure, for your lectures; we hope also that you will kindly excuse us, if we should every day trouble you with some quotations of passages
in

in the antients which may particularly please us, or of which we may want your explanation.

WITH this design we rose very early this morning, and have been indeed very busy in refreshing our memories with the principal events of the regal history of this city from the times of *Tullus Hostilius*, to those of *Servius*.

I AM sure, replied *Crito*, that I ought most heartily to thank you for this goodness; I could also most heartily wish that my compositions were really worthy of that attention with which you so kindly honour them. As to the observations which you shall make in this your proposed course of private studies, I hope I shall always listen to them with the greatest pleasure.

THE conversation now turned on the history of *Rome* under the royal successors of *Numa*. While the company were on that part of the road which lies between the *Fossa Cluilia* and the *Porta Capena*, the youngest gentleman recollected many circumstances of the reign of *Tullus Hostilius*; (particularly the picturesque story of the *Horatii*) he gave due praise to the bravery, presence of mind, and policy of that king; though at the same time he breathed a sigh of generous compassion, in looking towards the mountain, under which *Alba* once stood;

stood; *Alba*, the mother of *Rome*, and of thirty other *Latian* cities. He mentioned with great satisfaction also the generosity of *Tullus*, in giving up, on his accession to the throne, so large a part of the crown lands for the benefit of his poor subjects, though at the same time he greatly condemned the warlike fierceness of this king, and his irreligion during the following years of his life, justly at last concluded (as is frequently the case) by a miserable old age, full of the weakest superstitions.

THE eldest of these three worthy young men then spoke with rapture of the reign of *Ancus Martius*. That king, said he, (with all deference let me speak it to the sacred name of his royal grandfather) seems to have been one of the most complete models of the regal character, according to the idea of *Fenelon*, frequently expressed in his *Telemachus*. For *Ancus* was the blessing of his people, by restoring among them the spirit of agriculture and religion: his heart also (according to the amiable representation of it in *Dionysius*) was full of the love of peace; though in defence of his people against the injuries of the neighbouring states, he was obliged to support some heavy wars, in which he shewed great military conduct, courage, and mercy. But in the consideration of this character, *Englishmen* surely ought to

to take particular notice of the happiness and wisdom of *Ancus* in founding his maritime city and port of *Ostia*, the great utility of which work is particularly described by *Dionysius*. You may remember, continued he, addressing himself to *Crito*, that some days past, while you, dear sir, were deeply engaged in some of the great *Roman* libraries, we three took a ride to *Ostia*; we passed by the salt-pits, and through the town to that hillock on which are some ruins, said to be the remains of a temple dedicated to the winds and Nereids, probably originally erected by the religious *Ancus*. In that place your pupil enjoyed many poetic meditations; our noble friend also had much satisfaction in drawing a design of those ruins, and in planning out in his imagination the antient form and ornaments of that temple. In the mean time I sat on the grass, surveying the prospect of the windings of the *Tiber*, and of its opening into the sea; nor could I help reflecting, how highly the two most politic kings in modern *Italy* and *Germany* would value such a port, (if connected so nearly by such a river to their capitals) and yet how infinitely inferior the *Tyber* and haven of *Ostia* are to our *Thames*, and port of *London*.

On the mention of those names, the conversation was turned on the various blessings of happy *England*: that beloved subject took up their whole
attention

attention for a mile or two; the coach then stopping near the church of St. *Cesarea*, the company got out to view the neighbouring situation of the antient *Porta Capena*.

WHILE they stood in that place, *Crito's* pupil, after some pause, expressed himself in the following ardent and poetic manner.

How pleasing is it to consider the small origin, and gradual growth of this mighty city of *Rome*? planted like some young oak or cedar, on *that Palatine* hill, it extended its roots, even during the life of its planter, to the neighbouring *Capitoline* mount; under the peaceful and benign culture of *Numa*, it shaded and sheltered the *Quirinal*; in the times of *Tullus*, it was strong enough to expand its great ingrafted arms over the *Cælian*; but under the reign of *Ancus*, it overspread both the *Aventine* and *Fanicular*; thus, according to the stile of my tutor's favourite poetry, *stretching forth its boughs to the river, and its branches towards the sea*.

How pleasing are such reflections, especially when, as at this time, we have the very scene before our eyes? a scene, presenting the most noble ideas to the mind, while we consider thus the antient growth and grandeur of *Rome*; nor less

less full of pleasing melancholy, while we reflect on its present desolation. How naked and solitary does the *Capian* mount now appear on our right? How covered with ruins, mount *Aventine* on our left? for this which was antiently one of the most populous parts of *Rome* is now become the most deserted. Four indeed of its hills, the *Capian* and *Aventine*, the *Palatine* and *Esquiline*, have at present scarce any habitable edifices remaining on them, except only some convents and hospitals, annexed to several antient churches; and some now country villas of the *Roman* nobility, surrounded with extensive vineyards.

AMONG those vineyards the company walked forwards to that adjoining uninhabited valley, where *Tarquin* the Elder placed the *Circus Maximus*. The recollection of that circumstance introduced there some conversation on his reign.

THE eldest of the young gentlemen spoke of the methods by which he rose to all his glory; great industry joined to great abilities, bravery, affability, generosity, all united, were the noble instruments by which *Tarquinius Priscus* raised himself, even from the condition of a private foreigner, to the *Roman* throne; which throne (it must be remembered in justice both to *Tarquinius Priscus*, and *Servius Tullius*) was then elective,
and

and lay open to superior merit, almost as much as the dictatorship did in the following century.—Let us next examine, said he, his behaviour when king; particularly his military conduct, which was so often proved in the long *Sabine*, *Latin*, and *Etruscan* wars, in many engagements on the neighbouring banks of the *Tiber* and *Anio*.

———— *Quam multa sub undis*
Scuta virum galeasque, & fortia corpore volvis
Tybri pater!

DUE commendation was then given, by this young gentleman, to the mild and moderate conditions of peace which *Tarquinius Priscus* generally granted to his conquered enemies. *Crito* however observed with concern, that the noble and solid policy, on which all the greatness of *Rome* was originally founded, that *policy of mercy, by which enemies were converted into friends and fellow-citizens*, then began to fail, particularly in the bloody sieges of *Apioli* and *Corniculum*; *Rome* indeed then seems to have first begun to enslave and massacre its captives, instead of wisely incorporating them, as formerly, into its own body.

FROM the very disagreeable subject of that part of the military history of *Tarquinius Priscus*, the conversation was now turned, by the youngest of the company, to the consideration of the great
and

I. Chap. I. TARQUINIUS PRISCUS. 33

and public works of peace, with which this king adorned *Rome*.

IN these, said he, how pleasing is it to trace the marks both of an *Etruscan* and *Grecian* genius? This very *Circus*, along which we are now walking, was made by him in imitation of some in *Greece* *; probably on the model of the famous *Circus*, dedicated, as this, to *Neptune*, on the *Isthmus* near *Corinth*; for *Corinth* was his paternal city: and it is also observable, that it was during his reign here that the antient *Isthmian* games were restored by the *Corinthians*.

FROM *Corinth* also †, or from some neighbouring *Grecian* city, whether *Argos*, or *Athens*, *Tarquinius Priscus* perhaps took the hint of embellishing the *Roman* *Αγορά*; and of erecting the temple of *Jupiter*, *Juno*, and *Minerva* on the *Tarpeian* rock, the *Ακροπολις* of *Rome*.

ON the other hand, he adorned this city with much of the magnificence of *his own* native country, *Etruria*. For to the majesty of the *Roman* throne, he added the state and pomp of the *Etruscan*

VOL. I.

F

kings:

* In relation to the familiarity of the games performed in this *Circus*, and those in *Greece*, see the conclusion of the 7th book of *Dion. Halic.*

† Vide *Pausaniam*.

kings: in the architecture also of his noble *fortifications* of *Rome*, he probably copied the *Etruscan* grandeur. In digging lately in the vineyards behind the great *Carthusian* convent, the remains of those walls of *Tarquinius Priscus* were discovered; if I am not misinformed, they were found to be built of vast squared stones, answering *Diomysius's* epithet of λιθοι αμυξιαιοι; and perhaps somewhat similar in their size to those enormous stones, the vast bulk of which struck us with astonishment, when lately viewing the antique walls of *Cortona*.

BUT of all the public works of *Tarquinius Priscus*, the most celebrated was that of the *Cloaca Maxima*. With what admiration do *Strabo* and *Dionysius*, though spectators of the magnificence of *Rome* even in the *Augustan* age; and *Pliny*, though living in the midst of all the splendid edifices of *Vespasian* and *Titus*, speak of this amazing work of subterranean architecture? With what pompous expressions does that gothic patron of arts, the royal *Theodoric*, many centuries afterwards, describe the same? *Romanæ civitatis cloacæ tantum visentibus conferunt stuporem, ut aliarum civitatum possint miracula superare*. Even at present, after the course of three and twenty hundreds of years, some remains of this work are still to be seen, though choaked up with ruins and rubbish. As we are now very near that spot, we may, if
you

Chap. I. ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. 35

you please, just look down into their arched entrance.

THE company now descended to the mouth of those caverns, and were there, by the same noble youth, informed, that, according to *Eschinardi's* measurements, the passages are still, in the inside, eighteen architectural palms both in height and breadth; and that all the stones in their walls are above seven palms in length, and above four in thickness.

FROM these caverns the company ascended to the neighbouring temple of *Servius Tullius*. That antique structure is still in a considerable degree entire, and at present used as a church by the *Armenian* clergy resident in *Rome*.

IN visiting this place one morning last week, (continued the same learned young nobleman) I could not help imagining myself viewing some antient temple in *Asia Minor*; the language, dress, and ceremonies of the clergy of this church, and the beautiful *Ionic* architecture of this antient side of the fabric, strongly inclined me to indulge myself in that pleasing imagination: pleasing surely I may call that fancy; for, though we have at present the happiness to stand within a stone's cast of the *Tiber*, yet certainly we may even here recollect

F 2

with

with pleasure the descriptions of the antique elegant structures on the banks of the *Cayster* or *Meles*. In reading lately some extracts from *Dionysius*, I was much pleased to find that when this temple of *Servius Tullius* was repaired or rebuilt by *Augustus Caesar*, its original plan (αρχαῖος οὐρμῶς) was still preserved. Nor could I help fancying, that perhaps this *Ionic* plan might be copied by *Servius* from some temple then standing in *Ionian*. This conjecture seemed strengthened by the consideration, that the temple dedicated by the same *Servius Tullius* to *Diana* on mount *Aventine*, is expressly said, both by *Livy* and *Dionysius*, to have been erected in imitation of the religious and political design of the temple dedicated to the same goddess at *Ephesus*; perhaps in some humble imitation of its architectural design also.

THE company now turned their eyes to that part of mount *Aventine*, where the temple of *Diana* is said to have stood; and entered into conversation on the frequent intercourse which subsisted, about the times of *Servius*, between the nations inhabiting the coasts and islands of this part of the *Mediterranean*, and those *Ionian* cities, which then so richly adorned the coasts of *Asia Minor*. According to the natural wandering of conversation, *Crito* now began to speak of the *Ionian* philosophers; his pupil of the *Ionian* poets
of

of those times, the first successors of *Homer*. Nor was it with less pleasure that the eldest of the young gentlemen mentioned the names of those famous princes and patriots, who about the same time met in the same fine country of *Ionis*; *Cræsus*, and *Cyrus* the Great; *Bias*, *Pittacus*, and *Solon*. How happy should I be, said he, to listen now to a comparison drawn up by *Crito* between the character and conduct of *Solon*, and of this his contemporary legislature *Servius Tullius*? Their political institutions, if I am not mistaken, were in several respects remarkably similar, particularly in that which was the great work of each of these wise men; I mean, the division or rather distribution of their people into several distinct ranks, according to the different proportions of their properties.

I HAD the honour of attending our noble young friend in his late visit to this temple of *Servius Tullius*: while he was diligently employing himself in measuring the exact proportions of these *Ionic* columns, and in drawing a design of the beautiful arches of that senatorian bridge *, I sat down on this low wall, before the portico of this temple, and endeavoured to recollect what I had read in different authors relative to the political wisdom of its royal founder. How happy, thought I to myself, must *Montesquieu* have been, when during

F 3

his

* It is commonly called *Ponte Rotto*.

his travels visiting this temple of the legislative *Servius*? But how strongly ought the hearts of all young *Englishmen* to beat, when approaching this monument of the memory of that royal friend and patron of liberty?

THE legislative conduct of *Servius*, calmly replied *Crito*, is indeed a very fit study for a young politician; but it is a subject proper for the pen, not of a clergyman, but of a wise and good statesman. In the papers, with which I am now beginning to trouble you, I hope I shall scarce ever attempt to enter on any nice disquisitions concerning the different modes of government, or any other such curious political questions; but, as much as may be, confine our lectures to their proper object, which is most suitable to my profession, viz. *Religious and moral reflections on the Roman history*.

IN this light let us view the character of *Servius*: let us first consider him, as by his valour in the cause of his country, twice gaining the ἀριστεία παντοῦ στρατῷ, before he attained the twentieth year of his age; then, by the general esteem and love of the public, raising himself to a seat in the senate, and filling that seat with great wisdom, as well as with great eloquence.

LET us next consider him in his regal character, not indeed pretending nicely to examine the

the whole plan of his political institutions, but considering those parts of it only, which are in themselves most plain and simple, and most immediately connected with the two great ends of all civil policy ; that is, piety to heaven, and benevolence to mankind.

His policy appeared united with piety, in the temples which he built in every village of the *Roman* territory, and in the chapels which he erected in every street of this city. This temple, by which we are now standing, is a monument of the same piety ; *Servius* dedicated it to *Fortuna Virilis*, that is, (if we properly translate those words) to *Providence, the protectress of men*. For this wise prince was not ashamed to acknowledge his grateful sense of a superior providence ; the blessings of whose protection he had always, from his most early years, sensibly experienced.—O my dear young friends, let not our gratitude be less than that of this heathen ! for Providence has bountifully conferred on us all so many blessings and comforts, that it would argue the greatest *blindness* and ignorance not to be sensible of them ; and the greatest impiety and *ingratitude* not to acknowledge them.

LET us now consider the policy of *Servius* as united with benevolence ; in this kind, his designs

and works were so very great, as to render it doubtful which was most admirable, the goodness of his heart, or the wisdom of his government. He provided every one of his *Roman* citizens with some property in land, and some house of their own to dwell in; by these means he filled all the *Campagna* with villages, and extended the buildings of this city over two other spacious hills, the *Viminal* and *Esquiline*; thus making the city of *Rome*, even in that age, equal in size to the city of *Athens*. Nor was his benevolent policy less apparent in his relieving the poor from the weight of the taxes, and other national burdens, which he laid on the rich in proportion to their riches; in his institution of a code of laws, regulating all transactions between rich and poor, *pari & æquo jure*; in his mercy to the distressed debtors, to whose bodies he gave liberty, thinking that the confiscation of their substance was a sufficient punishment; and lastly, in his bestowing several consolatory and comfortable privileges even on the captives and slaves, remembering that the human nature was equal in all; nor forgetting, when on the throne, his own former low estate.

*Me quoque per multos similis fortuna labores
Jactatam, hæc demum voluit consistere terrâ;
Non ignara mali miseris succurrere disco.*

But

But the greatest and most noble proof of his united goodness and wisdom was his love of peace.

ON his first accession to the throne, *Rome* was indeed engaged in some heavy wars ; but *Servius*, by his conduct and valour, concluded these as soon as possible, with an honourable peace.

HE then resolved to make the peaceful *Numa* his pattern, and to aspire to fame by establishing as much order in the civil policy of this city and country, as *Numa* had done in the religious : he regulated the public revenues, the military laws, the rules and orders of the legislative assemblies of the people ; he extended the jurisdiction of the senate, and yet kept its authority within due bounds ; in a word, he is said to have made *Rome* more formidable by twenty years of peace, than his warlike predecessors had done by all their triumphs.

HIS reign indeed would have been next in glory to that of *Numa*, if his accession to the throne had been equally honourable ; much indeed on that subject may be said in justification of *Servius* ; but much also, though perhaps not of equal weight, has been said against him. I cannot pretend to offer any thing in determination of that doubtful question.

BUT

BUT let us now conclude our long morning's work. In settling the rank of true merit between these six kings of *Rome*, than whom perhaps no country ever produced a series of more able princes, we may perhaps not unjustly place *Servius Tullius* and *Tarquinius Priscus*, in a middle station, superior to *Romulus* and *Hostilius*, but inferior to *Ancus* and *NUMA*.

CHAP. II.

SECOND DAY'S CONVERSATION.

Hinc ad Tarpeiam sedem, & Capitolia ducit.

WITH what earnest joy, with what heartfelt sense of the *religio loci*, do most travellers first approach the *Capitoline* hill? — *Crito's* companions, though they had so frequently already visited it, yet, on their ascent to it this morning, still felt great remains of the same awe. They seemed afresh astonished at the monuments of *Rome's* antient grandeur; they wandered from one colossal fragment to another; when *Crito* led them to the western side of the *Capitol*, into a building appropriated for the tribunals of the *conservatori*, that is, of the modern *Roman* consuls. Those apartments happening to be that day empty, the company had the opportunity of surveying them with the greatest leisure and privacy. They found the first grand apartment, or hall, filled with large paintings by *Arpino*, representing the principal events of the *Roman* history, during its regal government; the picture of the religious and peaceful character of *Numa* fronted the

the

the entrance. The second apartment they found in the same manner adorned with the achievements of the youthful *Cocles*, (who, according to *Dionysius*, μορφη τε καλλιστος ην ανδρωπων, και ψυχην αριστος) and of the other contemporary *Romans*, who delivered their country from tyrannic oppression, and heroically hazarded their lives in defence of its just and natural rights.

Is it not in some degree remarkable, said the eldest of the young gentlemen, that, on examining the chronological tables of the *Grecian* history, we should find *Miltiades*, and the other *Marathonian* heroes, to be nearly contemporary to these most brave *Romans*? For the liberty and consequent greatness both of *Athens* and of *Rome* began about the same time. If I am not mistaken, the expulsion of the *Pisistratidae* by *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton* happened in the very same year*, in which the tyranny of the *Tarquins* was abolished by *Brutus* and *Publicola*. The *Athenian* tyrant fled for refuge to *Darius*, and brought the arms of *Persia* on his country; as the *Roman* tyrant did those of *Etruria*. No comparison indeed can be made between the power of *Porfenna*, and that of the great king of the East, yet surely the spirit of these brave *Romans* was not inferior to that of the *Athenian* heroes; which was exerted, about the same time, and in the same noble cause of the defence of the laws and

* *Anno ante Christum circiter 508.*

and liberties of their country.—Let us with pleasure examine every one of the pictures on these walls; if not for the sake of the paintings themselves, (of the merit of which our youngest friend is a much better judge than myself) yet at least out of respect to the memory of the persons here represented, whose heroic actions filled us with rapture in our earliest childhood; which rapture now returns here with double force.

WHEN the company had fully surveyed this room, *Crito* sat down near a large antique head in brass, the basis of which bears the following inscription:

L. JUNIUS BRUTUS. M. F.
EXACTO SUPERBO REGE.
LIBERTATIS VINDEX.

JUNIUS BRUTUS.

JUNIUS BRUTUS was appointed to live in the time of *Tarquin* the Proud, a time most proper for the appearance of such a character; and in all its circumstances exactly suited for the exercise of such particular virtue, and for the manifestation of such strength of mind.

TARQUIN

TARQUIN had made himself king of *Rome* by the worst means: though the crown was elective, yet he had seized it without the consent either of the senate, or of the people. To obtain it, he had not scrupled to murder his father-in-law, *Servius Tullius*, and to poison his good sister, and his good first wife. During his whole reign, he was a continual oppressor of his subjects, slaughtering the nobility, (particularly the virtuous father of *Brutus*) and enslaving the people: υπερβεβληκως παντας υβρει τε και παρανομια της οπυδηποτε τυραννος *. Nor was he less injurious to the neighbouring states, both by force and by fraud.—Such was the usurper and tyrant, who then dared to sit on and stain the throne of *Numa*.—His queen was, if possible, more execrable and infernal than himself: as you observed this morning, while passing in your way hither, through the street of the *Vicus Sceleratus* †. Their children were wretched enough to follow the wicked counsels and examples of such parents; and thus to prepare themselves to become still more and more the dishonour and plague of their country.

THE

* Vide *Dion. Hal.*

† This second wife of *Tarquin* was one of the chief accomplices in the murder of her own father, brother, and sister, and probably of her mother also. While her father's body lay freshly murdered, and yet panting in *this* street, this horrid woman drove her chariot over it; and the blood of the father is said to have stained the chariot wheels, and even the cloaths of the inhuman daughter. On this occasion, that street was called by that name.

THE evil growing thus excessive, and almost desperate, *Brutus* on a sudden appeared in the glorious character of the deliverer of his country. While the *Romans* lay in the weakest and deepest despondency, broken and sunk under such tyranny, he it was who awakened them to a more manly spirit; and fired this nation with the noble flame of fortitude and liberty. Instead of joining his silent sorrow to their ineffectual lamentations, he pointed out to them the remedy of their miseries; the great remedy of self-defence; which the God of nature had graciously placed in their hands. He exhorted them to deliver the public from the cruelty and pride of its adversaries; particularly of him, who, though by his royal office he ought to have been the protector and father of his people, had thus declared himself their most fatal enemy. He exhorted and encouraged his countrymen to expel the whole of this unworthy family from the throne; and to take that opportunity of founding a new form of government, which might be a security to their posterity from all such future oppressions.

WITH great courage did he enter on this work; with great wisdom and resolution did he complete it: and justly may he be revered as the founder of the liberty of *Rome*, in the same degree that *Numa* was of its religion and its virtue.

WHILE

WHILE *Crito* was reading this part of his paper, the eldest of the three *English* youths seemed greatly affected ; his colour frequently changed, till at length it settled in a noble glow ; the same ardour shone in his eyes. Indeed the whole scene (as described by *Dionysius*) of *Brutus* pleading the cause of liberty over the corps of *Lucretia*, then filled his imagination, and inflamed his heart : he did not however interrupt *Crito's* lecture, but sat still, turning his eyes to the ground, and repeating to himself in a low voice the few following words ;
 η βίη ελευθεροῦ, η θανατοῦ ενδοξῶ.

THE same patriotic fire communicated itself to the *English* hearts of the rest of the company. Even *Crito* himself was apparently moved ; for he also had a heart full of courage in defence of others ? though in all private injuries, which were offered or done to himself, it had never breathed any thing but meekness, patience, submission, forgiveness, love, and beneficence to his enemies.
 — After some pause, *Crito* resumed his paper, But scarce had he begun to read the next lines, when his countenance was again changed, though in a very different manner ; it grew pale, and full of pain and sorrow ; his breast swelled with sighs,
 and

and his eyes with tears, nor was it, without the most manifest reluctance, that he forced himself to proceed as follows.

THE *Romans* chose their deliverer to be one of their first legal magistrates; but scarce had *Brutus* taken his seat on the consular tribunal, but his own sons were brought before him as their judge. These degenerate young men, blind to the virtues and glory of such a father, had been wretched enough to associate themselves with the vile young *Tarquins*. Corrupted, first by false ambition, then by mean self-interest (its consequence) they had gradually come to consent, first to do evil to their country; then to suffer the destruction of its liberty; though the general cause both of senate and people, and *even the life of their father*, the late great deliverer of both, must have been lost in the public ruin and destruction.

WHAT could the unhappy father do? How gladly would he have forgiven their ingratitude and cruelty to himself? But he could not protect them from the strict laws of their country, from that most inflexible justice, for which the antient *Roman* state was renowned.—*Tarquin* himself had been just expelled for the sake of justice: and

the office, with which *Brutus* was now intrusted, forced him to pass sentence on the criminals; and even to be spectator of their punishment. With extreme anguish of heart, struggling against all the strength and resolution of his mind; (a conflict not unworthily expressed in his antique statue, which we admired, a few days ago, at the entrance of the *Villa Mattei*) and as *Livy* well observes, *Eminente animo patrio inter publicæ pænæ ministerium*; he went through the dreadful scene; and saw the blood of his sons streaming at the foot of his tribunal. He then descended from his chair of state; led out the *Roman* troops against their enemies and invaders; and had soon the happiness and glory of expiring on the field of battle; and thus of completing the sacrifice of himself to the public cause.

THE memory of this exalted hero has been always regarded with the greatest admiration by the true patriots of all ages and nations; by the *Romans* particularly with the greatest gratitude and reverence: it being their general opinion, that it was nothing near so glorious an undertaking in *Romulus* to found their city, as it was in *Brutus* thus to found their commonwealth.

THE great scene of the trial of his unworthy sons is to this day represented in a large picture
over

over the present tribunal in the *Capitol*, with this motto, *Diligite Justitiam*; (if you look in the next room, you will see it over those two modern consular chairs of state) as a monument and memorial of what the duty is of a magistrate; and what the punishment and disgrace that is due to those young men, who having the peculiar blessing of such virtuous parents, are vile enough to degenerate from so great and domestic an example.



THUS have I, continued *Crito*, in compliance with the general admiration and veneration, which is paid in so high a degree, and with so much justice, to the memory of *Brutus*, endeavoured to represent to you *some* traces of his exalted heroism: it being needless here to enter into *all* the particulars of the lives of these so much celebrated *Roman* heroes. In the same compliance I have selected him as the principal character of his time: though as to what passes in my own breast, I must own that there was a *contemporary* character, which affects my heart and attracts my love much more; and whose memory seems at once both far more glorious, and far more amiable.

As I was sitting alone last Sunday evening, in one of the shady walks of the *Palatine* garden,

near the *Precipice*, antiently known by the name of the *Summit of Velia**; and meditating on the catalogue of *Roman* worthies, which I was then (perhaps not without some sentiments proper to the day) intending to propose to your consideration; I was struck with the thought, that I was then seated near the very spot of *Publicola's* house, and of his grave; than whom in all the long history of *Rome*, there seemed to be none more proper to be proposed as an example: especially to the noble youth of that country; which is at present the chief seat of liberty, and perhaps also of fortitude and benevolence.

VALERIUS

* The *Summit of Velia* is that part of the *Palatine* hill, which is immediately above the *Lupercal* rock, and consequently hangs over the south-west angle of the *Roman Forum*. It is now a little neglected and ruined terras, at the end of one of the retired walks in the *Farnese* gardens on that hill.

VALERIUS PUBLICOLA.

WITH what pleasure does the good *Plutarch* enter on this character? Placing it between the beloved characters of *Numa* and *Camillus*; and remarking at the very beginning of it, that *Valerius Publicola* was descended from that *Valerius*, who (together with *Herfilia*) was the author of the reconciliation and union between the *Romans* and *Sabines*. He probably also was one of the *Roman* ambassadors, who brought the offer of the crown to *Numa*.

DURING the reign of *Tarquin*, *Publicola* was very eminent both for his eloquence and riches: the first of which he employed with great integrity and courage in defence of justice (though under such a tyrannical government); and the other in relieving with great liberality and love the necessities of persons in distress. For the needy had always an easy access to him; nor were his gates ever shut against the petitions of persons of low estate. Thus was he in point of fortune doubly happy: for his fortune was not only originally justly acquired, but was constantly thus employed to the most noble, the most wise and good purposes;

poses; according to what is said of another great person of antiquity,

ΠΛΕΙΣ ἄ κτῶμεν σὺν τῷ δικαίῳ,

ΠΛΕΙΣ Οἱς δὲ χρωμέν σὺν τῷ καλῷ.

PUBLICOLA was the *first* person who joined *Brutus* in his glorious design of delivering his country from that bloody usurper, under whose tyranny it groaned; being nothing daunted at the dangers and difficulties of that great enterprize. Indeed, in all matters of conflict, tumult, and opposition, he always behaved himself with the greatest courage and resolution; though the works of charity and peace, of persuasion and condescension, were his favourite employments.

AFTER the expulsion of the tyrant, *Publicola* willingly yielded the principal rank and power in the new commonwealth to *Brutus*. He expected indeed to have been chosen by the people colleague to *Brutus* in his first consulship; but though disappointed in attaining that honour, which he had so well merited, yet he continued firm in the cause of the republic; active in suppressing all conspiracies against it, and in frustrating all attempts for the re-establishment of the tyrant. For to his noble and benevolent mind, tyranny was always the object of the greatest aversion.

BUT

BUT how can I attempt to describe his great and good works, when afterwards he was advanced to the supreme magistracy? Both in foreign and in domestic affairs, his behaviour was surely most noble, as well as most amiable.

AGAINST the enemies of his country he was active in the fields of battle (from which he frequently returned covered with honourable wounds); and as remarkable for his conduct as for his courage; some very important victories being entirely attributed to his great skill in generalship.

As to negotiations, he was equally great: for at that very time when the *Romans*, with great difficulty, could scarce defend even the walls of their city, (*cum & armis & fame urgeret Porfenna, occupatoque Janiculo ipsis urbis faucibus incubaret*) he obtained for them as good terms of peace, as a victory might be expected to produce: *Porfenna*, that formidable and invincible antagonist of *Rome*, being by his means, and greatly by respect to his character, reconciled and made a friend to that republic. Indeed, the negotiations of *Publicola* were of almost an irresistible weight; not only on account of his great abilities and wisdom, by which they were forwarded; but much more on account of the nature of that principle, on which they were formed and founded: *the principle of justice.*

justice. For to obtain to his countrymen their just rights, he made no difficulty of giving up what they had usurped on their neighbours. In such noble negotiations he could with boldness and success make even his antagonist, the great and generous *Porfenna*, judge of the *Roman* cause.

As to domestic affairs, it is easy to imagine that he must have acquired great and general esteem and love, by his generous care in honouring the memory of *Brutus*, and in rewarding the bravery of *Cocles*; having for the last of these provided a public honourable allowance during life; and having honoured the death of the other, by the *first* funeral oration which perhaps was ever spoke in any country. His oration at the funeral of *Brutus* is certainly far more antient than the famous *Grecian* funeral orations, either of *Lysias* or *Demosthenes*, of *Plato* or *Pericles*. This his example was constantly followed by the greatest men of *Rome*, during many succeeding ages; who (as *Dionysius* observes to their honour) did not confine these encomiums to military merit only; but used them constantly at the burials of all persons, who in any other manner had been remarkable benefactors to the public.

IN relation to the government in general, the ideas of *Publicola* seem to have been these, As he
had

had joined to overturn the tyrant's power from a principle not of oligarchical pride and ambition, but of sincere love to the public; so now, in modelling the new commonwealth, of which indeed he became the principal legislator, he took care to preserve the real liberty of the people. *Valerius Publicola*, (says *Florus*) *ex summo studio annixus est ad augendam liberi populi majestatem*. He revived the just and humane institutions of *Servius Tullius*, which had been suppressed during the reign of *Tarquin*; he was the author of several new laws, which moderated the power of the nobility, and were full of charity to the poor, and of mercy even to offenders. He abated greatly the pomp of his own office; making it mild and popular: he abridged the power of it also by several institutions; particularly by taking from it the management of the treasury, of which he delivered the care to other commissioners (the *Quæstors*) elected by the people.

IN a word, he (according to *Plutarch*) settled the government of *Rome*, in the manner in which it lasted in a great measure inviolable for above four hundred years. Certainly during that long space of time, not one drop of *Roman* blood was shed in any of the most violent seditious tumults, or factious contests of this city.

AFTER

AFTER having thus seen his country flourishing through his courage and conduct, and victorious through his ministry and legislation; after having himself received some of the honours due to such public services; (four consulships, and two triumphs) *Publicola* committed the care of his beloved people into the hands of those who were to succeed him in his high offices; and died full of honours and of days. He died, after a life well spent in the attainment of every thing that is great or desirable; as much (according to *Plutarch's* judgment) as a man is capable of such attainments here below.

NOR ought it to be esteemed (especially by any person of my profession) as any the least abatement to the happiness of this worthy man, that *he died rich only in good works*. The original estate of his family was but small; his own acquired fortune was, according to *Plutarch* *, very considerable; but this was expended by him during the times of public quiet, chiefly in works of private charity: and, during the public struggles on the expulsion of the bloody *Tarquin*, in works of public spirit.

HE afterwards possessed for some few years the highest offices of state in the new republic: but the

* *Επιφανής ην δια πλεον, βασιλευμένης ετι της Ρωμης*. See the beginning of his life in *Plutarch*.

the poverty, in which he died, shews above all things how little he aimed at raising a fortune, by his labour for the common weal. His mind indeed was full of far more noble, far more happy,

ideas. Ουχ εαλω τη παντας καταδουλευμενη και ασχημονειν αναγκαστη φιλοχρηματια. αλλ' επι τη μικρα και πατροπαράδοτω διεμεινεν υσια, σωφρονα και αυταρη και πασης επιθυμιας κρειττονα βιον ζητων· και ωχιδας επι τοις ολιγοις χρημασιν εθρεψατο, τη γενυς αξις· και δηλον επωησε πασιν, οτι πλεονεχ' ο πολλα κερτημεν*, αλλ' ο μικρων δεησομεν*.

In relation to himself, he was, like *Socrates*, by his love of temperance made easy in his poverty. As to his family, the great and lasting glory, which he bequeathed to his descendants, was certainly (even considering things merely in a lucrative view) far more advantageous to them in the long run †, than the income would have been of some

* *Dionys. Halic.*

† The descendants of *Publicola* formed three branches, *Publicolæ*, *Messalæ*, and *Valerii*; which for several centuries continued to be esteemed three of the most noble families in *Rome*; and on account of their own merit, as well as of that of their great Progenitor, were almost constantly in possession of some of the greatest offices in the state.

Even in modern *Rome* a branch of the family is said still to subsist in great splendour: their modern title is that of the *Princes of Santa Croce*. They are at this day possessed of a noble palace, and of an estate of ten thousand pounds sterling per annum. It is certain that since the middle of the tenth century
this

some few more acres ; which, by a meaner conduct, he probably might have accumulated, and his next heirs probably mortgaged or sold.

As it was, his death drew tears, not only from his friends and nobly-spirited children, but became the object of national sorrow. The people, sensible how greatly they were still in his debt for the many singular services which he had rendered to them, decreed that a public mourning should be observed for a year in his memory, and that his body should be honourably interred at the public charge. A place of sepulture also was granted within the city to him, and to all his descendants ; on the very spot of *Velia*, where he had so generously sacrificed his house, that noble edifice, (at least it was thought *such* in those times) to the contentment of the people.

To that spot, if you please, we will now take our walk ; it is scarce half a mile distant from this place : I am sure, that you in particular, dear Sir, (in saying this *Crito* addressed himself to the eldest of

this family has constantly borne the name of *Valerii Publicola*. It is said also, that in their archives are preserved several deeds and antient records ; by which it appears, that they are really of the *Valerian* blood ; and that in a church adjoining to their palace there are some old inscriptions, which seem still further to corroborate this their claim. This church, which is built on ground belonging to them, has been known these many ages by the name of *Sancta Maria in Publicolis*.

of the young gentlemen) will not be averse to pay this respect to the memory of such a patriot and legislator: my pupil also will carry with him thither, *in his imagination*, all the poetical and classical offerings (the elegant description of which he shewed me last night translated by him from *Æschylus*) proper for honouring the place of such a sepulchre; the sepulchre of *Publicola*, whose memory is almost as sweet and lovely as that of *Numa* himself.

———Πρεϋμενεῖς χοῶς
 Φέρων ἀπὲρ νεκροῖσι μελιχτηρία·
 Βοῶ τ' ἀφ' ἀγνῆς λευκὸν εὐποτον γάλα,
 Τῆς τ' ἀνθεμύργῃ σάγμα, παμφαῖες μέλι·
 Δίβασιν ὑδρηλοῖς παρθεύῃ πηγῆς μετὰ·
 Ἀκηρατον τε, μητρὶ ἀγρίας ἀπο,
 Ποτον παλαιᾶς ἀμπέλης γανθὸν τοδὲ·
 Τῆς τ' αἰεὺ ἐν φύλλοισι θαλάσσης βίου
 Ξανθῆς ἐλαίας καρπὸν εὐωδῆς παρὰ·
 Ἀνθε τε πλεῖστα παμφορῶν γαίας τέκνα·

Ἡ φίλῃ ἀνῆρ· Ἡ φίλῃ οὐχὶ ταφῇ·
 Φίλα γὰρ κεκευθεν ἡθῇ·

ÆSCH. PERSÆ.

Accipe, Sancte Cinis, pietatis munera nostræ!
Inferias gratas accipe, Sancte Cinis!

Lac

*Lac dabitur purum candentis ab ubere vaccæ ;
Labruscæque, fluens per tua busta, merum :
Sertum oleæ semper viride ; Et quæ lucida mella
Suavi è rore rosæ sedula stipat apis.
Terra tibi omniparens feret omnia sæcula florum ;
Virgineus vitreas fons tibi fundet aquas,
Salve, Chære Cinis ! Salve ipsius herba sepulchri,
Quà secreta tibi, longaque parta quies.*

CHAP. III.

THIRD DAY'S CONVERSATION.

THE following day being *Sunday*, the course of *Crito's* lectures were suspended, and continued so for the whole week ensuing; for the young gentlemen were desirous, before *Crito* advanced further in the *Roman* history, to employ some days entirely in their private studies; and to refresh their memories in several particulars, by turning over some books of *Livy* and *Dionysius Halicarnassens*; both of which authors they had diligently and thoroughly studied before they left *England*.

CRITO took the same opportunity of digesting and correcting his papers. In every day also of this interval, particularly on the two Sundays, he passed several hours in the most retired and humble devotion, praying for the blessing of heaven on his present undertaking: for the work in which he was now so happily engaged was such, that he could with humble confidence call it an *holy* work.

THOUGH

THOUGH in the course of these lectures he knew that he should be obliged to be almost perpetually speaking of some of the innumerable wars of *Rome*, yet he hoped never to be so absurd as to pretend to make any *military* observations on them. Though reflections on the nature of the *Roman* government, on the changes of its constitution, and in general on whatever is called its policy, would *sometimes* recur to his memory, in consequence of his having formerly read the best antient and modern authors on those subjects; yet, as was observed before, he did not intend to dwell on such reflections: indeed his heart was continually growing more and more cold and averse to all *political* studies. He was averse also to the thoughts of unnecessarily displaying during these conversations any of his little acquisitions either in solid or ornamental *learning*: his heart was too much purified and sanctified to admit that vanity and folly. What then was his sincere design?

THE *Roman* history is in all places of education the general study of all young men. In reviewing it with his young friends here at *Rome*, he earnestly wished that he could in the least degree and in the humblest manner be assistant to them in *adapting and directing that study to the best and wisest purposes of a CHRISTIAN EDUCATION.*

Chap. III. ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. 65

IF *Rollin* had died and been buried at *Rome*, *Crito* would probably, before he began this course of lectures, have frequently taken a solitary walk to his grave: and there, by the side of his tomb, have silently prayed; that a spark of that celestial fire of love, which warmed and illumined the heart of that good man, might also descend on him, however unworthy of it.



ON the Monday se'nnight following this company met again on the *Capitoline* hill; near that fountain, which is adorned with two colossal statues of the *Tiber* and *Nile*, and with a porphyry statue of *Roma triumphans* seated between them.

CLOSE behind this fountain rises a lofty building (*Residenza del Senatore Romano*); from the top of which is an extensive prospect of all the southern parts of *Rome*: particularly of mount *Aventine*, and the *Tiber* winding at its feet.

THIS building is mostly modern: nor is it exactly known what antient structure stood in its place: though some antiquarians are of opinion, that in the times of the lower empire this was the place of the *Athenian*, or public hall, where the learned

men of *Greece* or *Rome* then used to recite their compositions.

THE only parts of this building, which are antique, are some remains of a wall to the left*, built of large *Tiburine* stones; and some arched vaults under it, which are at present a set of stables, but which formerly were nothing less than the *tabularia populi Romani*.

AT some few yards distance from this building, half way down the hill in the way to the *Forum*, stands the marble portico of the temple of *Concord*.

At a small distance also to the right, rises the western summit of the *Capitoline* hill (commonly called *Monte Caprino*) which is covered at present with many houses and small gardens.

IN these parts of the *Capitoline* hill, the company passed this morning; walking leisurely from spot to spot; and conversing on the several objects, which presented themselves to their view.

WITH great classical pleasure they surveyed the prospect towards mount *Aventine*; and pointed out to each other, though at a considerable distance, the

* Perhaps part of the *Capitoline* substructions mentioned by *Livy*, lib. vi. c. 4.

Chap. III. ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. 67

the place on one side of the *Tiber* *, where *Porfenna*'s camp (the theatre of the fortitude of *Scævola*) was probably situate; and on the other, where

Æneadæ in ferrum pro libertate ruebant :

—— *Pontem audebat quâ vellere Cocles,*

Quâ fluvium vinclis innabat Clælia ruptis.

Nor did they omit to take notice, that this last act of courage is (according to some antient opinions mentioned by *Plutarch* and *Pliny*) to be attributed, not to *Clælia*, but to *Valeria*, the daughter of *Valerius Publicola*.

I HAVE often, said the eldest of the young gentlemen, wished to peruse some well-written history of about twenty of the most illustrious and virtuous families of antient *Rome*: in which, many virtues, particularly magnanimity and patriotism, seem to have been hereditary during several generations, and in several different branches of their truly noble pedigrees.

HORATIUS COCLES was descended from one of the three *Horatii*, who were so famous in the history of the preceding century:—*Scævola* left a family, which proved afterwards fruitful in great and good characters. But of all the illustrious

H 2

trious

* Vid. the latter end of the sixteenth Day's Conversation.

trious houses of antient *Rome*, no one was ever more truly glorious, or more deservedly beloved, than that of the *Valerii*. The descendants of that house seem indeed diligently to have followed the footsteps of *Publicola*; and thus to have become a family of true heroes, always friends of the people, and protectors of the public liberty.

WITNESS the two sons of *Publicola*, *Titus* and *Publius*; who nobly fell at the battle of *Regillum*; fighting in defence of their country in its great and last struggle against the tyrant *Tarquin*. How different from the two degenerate sons of *Brutus*? A third son of *Publicola* died in battle on *this Capitoline hill*, in defence of his country against the *Sabine Herdonius*.

WITNESS also the brother of *Publicola*, *Marcus Valerius*; who in the same battle of *Regillum* expired, though affectionately defended by his brave young nephews. In several former campaigns he had exerted great conduct and courage. Nor was he less a protector of the public in the senate-house than in the field: being in battle brave; but in council mild and humane. If he had any failing, it seems to have been that only of a too great generosity and benevolence.

WITNESS

WITNESS also the venerable name of *Manius Valerius*, the other brother of *Publicola*. He, even in his seventieth year, did not decline the service of his country; but even then took the field with the courage of the youngest captain, as well as with the prudence of the most experienced general. In his high office of dictator, he endeavoured to mediate with great integrity, amidst all the fierceness and fraud of the contending parties; and amidst all those dangerous dissensions, which then arose from the contumacy of the people, and from the cruel pride of the young nobility.

SOME few days past, I employed a long morning in the study of part of the fifth and sixth books of *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*, in which books the history of those dissensions is recounted at large. In the afternoon I refreshed myself with a solitary walk in the gardens of *that* convent on the *Calian* hill, where you know the *Curia Hostilia*, the chief senate-house of *Rome*, is said to have formerly stood. But why do I call that walk solitary? Never was I present at such an illustrious assembly, as that which then and there appeared to the eye of my mind. Full of the ideas of my morning's study, I saw in imagination, almost as strongly as in any dream, the *Roman* senate assembled; and all the great men of those times rising one after another to deliver their opinions in those important debates.

I was struck with particular veneration at *even this imaginary* sight of those grey-headed senators, who were grown old in the civil and military service of their country, such as *Manius Valerius*; *Posthumius*; *Servilius*; *Minutius*; *Lartius*, (who was the first dictator, and who in that high office set such an example of moderation and mercy as became a law to all his successors for four centuries) and lastly the excellent *Menenius Agrippa*, the PEACE-MAKER.

LOOKING on the consular bench, I saw with grief the seat of *Valerius Publicola* empty. Nor could I help reflecting, how soon and how sensibly the great importance of his character was felt by the public after his death: though all these patriots, whose venerable names I have just now mentioned, particularly *Menenius Agrippa*, seemed to have laboured to supply his loss by imitating his virtues. If *Publicola* had survived some few years longer, it is highly probable that he would have completed his legislation by the institution of some wise, just, and merciful law, regulating the affairs of debtors and creditors; and thus have totally prevented the first rise of all these troubles. So wise and good a legislator would certainly have laboured with the greatest diligence to remedy as soon as possible that dreadful and most dangerous distemper of the state, internal discord. Nothing
indeed

indeed gives us a stronger proof of the surprising wisdom of the *Roman* legislators, *Numa* and *Ancus*, *Tullius* and *Publicola*; or of these patriotic orators, *Valerius*, *Lartius*, and *Menenius*; than the consideration, that *Rome* was, by its constitutional strength derived from the first of these, and by the assistance of mild and healing remedies applied by the latter, enabled to bear that dreadful distemper so long, without falling into the convulsions, frenzy, and agonies of a civil war. For have not many republics, both in antient and modern times, been totally destroyed by dissensions, apparently less violent, and less dangerous than these?

ANOTHER scene of the same political nature then succeeded to my imagination. I imagined myself present at those debates of the *Roman* senate, which were occasioned some few years afterwards, by the madness and pride of *Coriolanus* on one side, and the violence of the new tribunes on the other. In this my second enthusiastic vision, how great was my joy to see again the white-headed *Manius Valerius* rising to deliver his opinion: while the whole senate was wrapt in the deepest most attentive silence. His speech was, suitably to his great age and character, full of wisdom and goodness. As an *Englishman*, I listened with great pleasure to his strong and deep reflec-

tions on the excellence of that form of government, which is compounded of the regal, aristocratic, and democratic powers: but how was my heart moved by the other parts of his oration, in which, πάντα ελαττω της ομολογιας τιθεμεν⁹, he lamented the misery of the present confusions, tears of sincerity in the mean time flowing down his aged cheeks? Scarce was there a dry eye in the whole assembly. Even the hard hearts of *Appius* and *Coriolanus* seemed to be moved.

BUT, whither is my fancy leading me? Pardon me, my dear young friends, in these transports of imagination; which perhaps may seem a kind of madness.

SUCH an *amabilis insania* is, I hope, very excusable, replied *Crito's* pupil; at least in persons of our time of life, while treading this classic ground.

ON Thursday last, I took a morning's ride with my tutor over that part of the Campagna, which we see now in this prospect, to *Bovillæ*, and to some other ruined towns, which lie between *that* high hill of *Monte Albano*, and the road leading towards *Antium*. During that ride, I recollected, not without some of *your patriotic* indignation, the history of *Coriolanus*; who, at the head of the
Volscian

Chap. I. ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. 73

Volsian army, ravaged all *that* part of his own country with fire and sword. *Sed tu ex tuo edito monte, Latiaris sancte Jupiter, cujus ille lasus; nemora, finesque hoc nefario scelere macularat, ad eum puniendum oculos aperuisti* *. By the daggers of the traitorous *Volsians* he received indeed the due punishment of his own treason to *Rome*.

FROM the *Antian* road we turned our horses back towards this city. About the time that we came within sight of its walls, my tutor pointed out to me an antient building standing in the Campagna at a small distance on our left; telling me, that it was *imagined*† to be the remains of the famous temple of *Fortuna Muliebris*; where the mild and meek virtues of the *Roman* matrons delivered

* *Cic. pro Milone.*

† Quando la via Latina moderna sta per unirsi con la moderna via che conduce ad Albano, e a Marino a man'destra tra i colti remangono alcunè ruine di mausolei; ma il piu degno d'esser veduto si è un piccolo tempio ben conservato: costruito pulitamente de terra cotta; del quale tra tanti scrittori delle antichità di Roma, fuori di Ficoroni, nessuno ne ha parlato. E questo bel tempio; d'ottimo disegno; di forma quadra, con puliti cornicioni, e finetre, che davano lume al di dentro. Avendo misurata la sua distanza da Roma da piè del Celio, donds se dce cominciare fino al sito di questo tempio, è giusta-mente lo spazio di 4 miglia; onde può giudicarsi, che questo sia il celebre tempio della Fortuna Muliebre, che dagli antichi scrittori si ha essere stato a 4 miglia della via Latina, edificato per la nota storia di Coriolano quivi accampato contro la Patria, e mitigato dalla Madre, e dalla Moglie.

ESCHINARDI *Descrittione dell' Agro Romano*, nuova edizione dall'ABATE VENUTI, pag. 281.

delivered their country from that imminent destruction, which neither the policy of the senate, nor the power of the *Roman* army could avert. We rode up to it with great pleasure.

How greatly did I then wish for the company of this our noble young friend, who would have explained to me all the architectural beauties of that elegant structure?

RECOLLECTING also the picturesque story, of which the spot of that temple is *imagined* to have been the scene, I resolved to purchase, as soon as I was returned to *Rome*, a picture on that subject; which I had heard to be on sale. I have since bought it; and must earnestly desire this our young noble friend to accept of it; as a companion for the painting, which is already in his collection, on the subject of *Herfília* mediating between the *Romans* and *Sabines*.

I THEN gave my due attention to the instructions of my good tutor; who favoured me *there* with several exalted reflections on the wisdom and piety of the antient *Romans*; who, though Heathens, were grateful enough to preserve the memory of their deliverance, by building a place of worship, and instituting an anniversary thanksgiving, on the spot where it was obtained.

ACCORD-

Chap. III. ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. 75

ACCORDING to his usual kindness, he explained to me afterwards at our lodgings many parts of *Plutarch's* and *Dionysius's* *similar* account of that story.

BUT, how happy must you be, dear sir, (in saying this, he turned to the eldest of his young friends) in recollecting that the *via prima salutis* of this city (during the time of that unresisted invasion, and universal dejection of spirit, which is scarce to be paralleled in the *Roman* history) was opened by the patriotism of the *Valerian* family? For it was among the altars erected on *this Capitoline* hill, and which were then smoaking with incense and sacrifices, that *Valeria*, the sister of *Publicola*, was suddenly struck with that emotion of mind, and with the idea of that expedient, which alone was able to save *Rome* from the fury of *Coriolanus*.

You remember, dear sir, the character of this *Roman* lady, as described by *Shakespear*.

— The noble sister of Publicola,
The moon of Rome, chaste as the icicle
That's curdled by the frost from purest snow,
And hangs on Dian's temple: dear Valeria!

With this character (how much more amiable a character than that of the masculine courage of
her

delivered their country from that imminent destruction, which neither the policy of the senate, nor the power of the *Roman* army could avert. We rode up to it with great pleasure.

How greatly did I then wish for the company of this our noble young friend, who would have explained to me all the architectural beauties of that elegant structure?

RECOLLECTING also the picturesque story, of which the spot of that temple is *imagined* to have been the scene, I resolved to purchase, as soon as I was returned to *Rome*, a picture on that subject; which I had heard to be on sale. I have since bought it; and must earnestly desire this our young noble friend to accept of it; as a companion for the painting, which is already in his collection, on the subject of *Herfilia* mediating between the *Romans* and *Sabines*.

I THEN gave my due attention to the instructions of my good tutor; who favoured me *there* with several exalted reflections on the wisdom and piety of the antient *Romans*; who, though Heathens, were grateful enough to preserve the memory of their deliverance, by building a place of worship, and instituting an anniversary thanksgiving, on the spot where it was obtained.

ACCORD-

Chap. III. ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. 75

ACCORDING to his usual kindness, he explained to me afterwards at our lodgings many parts of *Plutarch's* and *Dionysius's* similar account of that story.

BUT, how happy must you be, dear sir, (in saying this, he turned to the eldest of his young friends) in recollecting that the *via prima salutis* of this city (during the time of that unresisted invasion, and universal dejection of spirit, which is scarce to be paralleled in the *Roman* history) was opened by the patriotism of the *Valerian* family? For it was among the altars, erected on *this Capitoline* hill, and which were then smoaking with incense and sacrifices, that *Valeria*, the sister of *Publicola*, was suddenly struck with that emotion of mind, and with the idea of that expedient, which alone was able to save *Rome* from the fury of *Coriolanus*.

You remember, dear sir, the character of this *Roman* lady, as described by *Shakespeare*.

— The noble sister of Publicola,
The moon of Rome, chaste as the icicle
That's curdled by the frost from purest snow,
And hangs on Dian's temple: dear Valeria!

With this character (how much more amiable a character than that of the masculine courage of
her

her niece ?) *Valeria* seems to have passed through all the *dangerous* years of youth : for, as *Plutarch* observes, αὐτὴ μὲν δόξαν εἶχεν ἐν τῇ πόλει, καὶ τιμὴν, δοκῶσα τῷ βίῳ μὴ κατασχευεῖν τὸ γένος. She was now an elderly *Roman* matron ; and in the highest reputation both for goodness and wisdom. Εὐξάμενη ὑν τοῖς θεοῖς πείθω καὶ χάριν αὐτῶν ἐπιτείνει τῇ δεινείᾳ, προήλθεν ἐκ τῆς τεμενῆς. From *this* hill she led the whole body of the *Roman* matrons ; and with the virtuous *Volumnia* and excellent *Veturia* at their head, boldly advanced in procession even to the camp of the enemy.

IN reading the moving description given by *Dionysius* of the words and actions of these *Roman* ladies, a tear sometimes dropt from mine eyes on the page : the filial piety of *Coriolanus* was still more affecting. Οὐχ ὥτως σπέραν εσχεν καρδίαν, ὥς ἀνασχέσθαι μητέρα πρὸς τοῖς ἐαυτῆς γονασὶ κυλισμένην. For the sake of this instance of filial tenderness, may all his former crimes be forgotten !

PARDON me, dear sir, for this emotion ! But indeed the voice of nature in the eight book of *Dionysius* is far more moving than all the senatorial eloquence in the sixth and seventh.

THE stile of *Dionysius* in that story seemed to me very different from his usual manner. I
imagined

imagined myself reading some *Greek* poem*. For as *Coriolanus* may in several respects be considered as the *Achilles* of his times, so also the ideas and expressions of this his historian seemed in several places very *Homeric*. In other places I imagined that I discovered some imitation of *Sophocles*. Indeed that whole story seems naturally suited for the genius of a tragic poet.—Permit me, dear sirs, while walking in this *Athenæum*, to express my wishes, that the *Socratic Euripides* had worked on that subject. How nobly would he perhaps have opened his tragedy by a soliloquy of *Valeria* on this *Capitoline* hill, before the temple of *Jupiter*; and concluded it with an account of her being established priestess of the new temple of *Fortuna Muliebris*?

ACCORDING to the chronological tables, this might have been possible. For *Æschylus* was contemporary to *Coriolanus*, and both *Sophocles* and *Euripides* flourished in the following century. But indeed

* Perhaps it may not be improper to insert here, as a specimen of this exalted stile, the few following lines of the speech of *Veturia*.

Εμοί μὲν παρὰ τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ πολιτῶν τιμῇ—μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν ἀποδομένη, ευκλείαν ἀθανάτων οἰσεῖ· καὶ εἰ τις ἀρὰ τὰς ἀνδρωπίνης ψυχᾶς ἀπολυθείσας τὴ σωματὶ ὑπεδέχεται τοπῶ, ἢ ὁ καταχθονίῳ καὶ ἀφειγῆς ὑποδέχεται τὴν ἐμὴν, ἐν ᾧ φασὶν τῆς κακοδαίμονος οἰκεῖν, ὅδε το καλῶμενον Ληθῆς πύδιον, ἀλλ' ὁ μετῴρῳ καὶ καθαρόῳ αἰδέῃ, ἐν ᾧ τὴς ἐκ θένῃ φυντᾶς οἰκεῖν λόγῳ, ευδαιμόνα καὶ μακαρίον ἔχοντας βίον.

indeed *Rome* was then too small a state to draw the attention of the *Grecian* writers : no *Athenian* poet would then have condescended to have turned his eyes hither.

—*Ad fines Italos, Laurentiaque arva;*

—*Et Ausonium quicumque est querere Tibrim.*

ON the mention of the names of these three *Attic* poets, the conversation wandered a while from *Rome* to *Greece*. This digression was more excuseable, as *Greece* was in its highest glory, during the times, on the history of which the company were now entering ; that is, during the century that intervened between the times of *Coriolanus* and *Camillus* ; or, according to the *Grecian* chronology, between the battles of *Thermopylæ* and *Leuctra*.

To the names of these tragic poets, *Crito's* pupil added that of their *Theban* contemporary, *Pindar* : he observed also, that philosophy as well as poetry was then removing from *Asia Minor* into *Proper Greece*. For during this century, *Hippocrates* flourished in the island of *Cos*, *Democritus* at *Abdera*, and *Meton* and *Socrates* at *Athens*.

HIS two young friends also, on this occasion, mutually complimented each other ; the eldest by the respectful mention of the names of *Parrhasius*,

Phidias,

Chap. III. ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. 79

Pbidias, and *Zeuxis*; the youngest by enlarging on the praises of *Leonidas*; of *Aristides*, and his pupil *Cimon*; of *Brasidas*, *Thucydides*, *Nicias*, and the Athenian *Thrasylbulus*.

AFTER that the young gentlemen had for some time expatiated with much pleasure on those Grecian characters, their attention was by *Crito* recalled to the Roman history.

THOUGH *Rome*, said he, during this century was destitute of those arts and sciences with which Greece was then so splendidly adorned; yet in respect to the far greater object of our present studies, I mean, the number of its virtuous characters, surely this city was not then in the least inferior to any of the most famous Grecian republics. Neither *Athens* nor *Lacedemon*, even while then in their greatest glory, could boast a family more illustrious in patriotic merit than the *Fabii*, the Roman *Heraclidæ*. That family was famous indeed on this spot long before the foundation of this city was laid by *Romulus*; but about this time they began to rise to the highest offices in the new republic, and to become companions in glory to your deservedly admired *Valerii*.

SOON after the death of *Coriolanus*, *C. Fabius*, in company with *L. Valerius*, nephew of *Publicola*,
distingu-

distinguished himself by prosecuting the consul *Cassius* ; for attempting to undermine the liberties of his country. The *Fabii* were indeed at first, you know, not very popular ; but by force of merit they soon fully acquired the affections of the public. *Genus Fabium*, says *Livy*, *populare nullâ nisi salubri reipublicæ arte, insigne spectaculum erat, exemploque civibus.*

IF we consider their civil virtues, how amiable are the scenes of the consul *M. Fabius*, opening his house as an hospital for his wounded soldiers ; and of the consul *C. Fabius*, labouring to reconcile the contending parties of the state ? *Neque bella, neque ullam aliam priorem curam egit, quàm ut inchoaretur concordia spes.*

IN regard to their military merit, you, my noble three young friends, will gladly recollect that in that great battle against the *Etruscans*, *quo die omnium Romanorum quâ plebis, quâ patrum eximia virtus fuit, Fabium nomen, Fabia gens maximè enituit.* The three consular *Fabii* then shewed, in the greatest dangers, the greatest fraternal affection to each other ; as well as the greatest courage and zeal in the cause of their country. *Ut decet proceres, pugnando potius quam adbertando accendebant militum animos.*

WITH

WITH similar rapturous awe you will also recollect the solemn scene of the march of the three hundred heroes of this same family to the fortress of *Cremera*; and perhaps compare it in your ardent imaginations with the noble fate of the three hundred *Spartans* at *Thermopylae*. The death of *Leonidas* indeed happened but three or four years before this affair of *Cremera*; and possibly might be the model of heroism, which the *Fabii* imitated in this action.

THAT solemn march of the three hundred *Fabii* was along this very valley, which is now directly before your eyes; and which leads, as you see, from the *Capitol* and *Forum* to the place where once stood the *Carmental* gate,

Quo fessum rapitis, Fabii? ———

* * *

AFTER some pause *Crito* proceeded as follows, addressing himself to his pupil.

CINCINNATUS.

YOU were lately observing to me, that several books of the *Roman* history seem, like several of the *Iliad*, each to contain the *αριστείαν* of some different hero. Following the order of time, you are now, my dear political friends, come to the *αριστείαν* of *Cincinnatus*: a hero, whom you may imagine (with more propriety, than ever could be imagined of *Diomed*) to have received from the goddess of *Wisdom*,

—μενῶ καὶ ἴαροῦ, ἵνα κλεῖν ΕΣΘΛΟΝ ἀποιτο.

Cincinnatus was descended of the noble *Quintian* family, and was brother to the excellent *Quintius Capitolinus*, six times consul.

He was originally possessed of a landed estate of seven acres. Of these he sacrificed three to friendship; having lost them by being surety for a friend. He afterwards, in the fifty-seventh year of his age, was still more reduced by a cruel fine; to which he voluntarily subjected himself, in order to save the life of his son: his son, you know, being at that time tried and condemned for a crime, of which he was two years afterwards found to have been totally innocent; and the witness against him to have totally been perjured.

CINCINNATUS, before this sad event, had lived in the most blameless manner, *non dicto, non facto quemquam offendens*. He now retired (I remember the words of *Livy*) *divenditis omnibus bonis; & trans Tiberim, velut relegatus, in devio quodam tugurio vixit*. — *Quatuor jugerum colebat agrum, quæ prata Quintia vocantur, contra eum ipsum locum, ubi nunc navalia sunt*. The *navalia*, according to *Donato* and *Eschinardi*, were situate at the foot of mount *Aventine*, near *that* bending of the *Tiber*, which we see in the prospect before us. The field of *Cincinnatus* was on the other shore; and, it is said, on the very spot, where the *Poor Franciscans* have now their garden-ground.

From that place *Cincinnatus* was soon called to the consulship; you all know, in what manner, and with what regret on leaving his beloved humble agriculture. You also must remember, probably much better than myself, with what great dignity and authority he in that high office suppressed the seditions of the state; with what integrity, patience, mildness, and mercy he presided in the highest tribunals of justice; with what patriotic self-denial he refused the continuation of his consulship for another year; and with what contentment he returned to his cottage, and to his usual day-labour in *that* field.

FROM that same field he was two years afterwards in the same manner called to the dictatorship. On this occasion he named for his *magister equitum*, *Tarquinius*, a youth of virtue and poverty similar to his own. He then exerted his great military abilities; saving the *Roman* consul and legions then in the greatest distress at *Rocca del Papa*; (you may see the spot in *that* part of this prospect, near the mountains of *Albano*) and making the whole army of the enemy prisoners of war. He returned to *Rome* in triumph; and, before three weeks were elapsed, resigned the dictatorship; which he might have legally possessed for six months. The senate, ashamed that so great a man should pass his old age in poverty, pressed him to accept of what quantity he pleased of the lands which he himself had thus conquered from the enemy; together with money and cattle sufficient to stock them. Many of his friends and relations also would have made him considerable presents: *ΑΥΤΙ ΠΑΝΤΟΣ ΑΓΑΘΟΥ* (says *Dionysius*) *ΤΙΘΕΜΕΝΟΙ ΕΚΕΙΝΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΑΝΔΡΑ ΕΥΠΟΙΕΙΝ*. But he would not accept of any thing from the public, except the revocation of the unjust sentence against his son; nor any thing from his family or friends: *ΑΛΛ' ΕΠΧΑΙΝΕΣΤΑΣ ΑΥΤΗΣ ΤΗΣ ΠΡΟΘΥΜΙΑΣ, ΞΔΕΝ ΤΩΝ ΔΕΔΟΜΕΝΩΝ ΕΛΑΒΕ· ΑΛΛ' ΑΠΗΛΘΕ ΠΑΛΙΝ ΕΙΣ ΤΟ ΜΙΚΡΟΝ ΕΚΕΙΝΟ ΧΩΡΙΟΝ, ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΗΡΓΟΥ ΑΥΤΙ ΤΗ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ ΜΕΤΕΙΛΗΘΕ ΒΙΟΥ, ΜΕΙΖΟΝ ΦΡΟΥΩΝ ΕΠΙ ΠΕΝΙΑ, Ή ΑΛΛΟΙ ΕΠΙ ΩΛΗΤΩ.*

DURING

DURING the following twenty years we find *Cincinnatus* frequently engaged in affairs of state, and always acting with great love to the public, as well as with great justice and mildness to particulars; saving the lives even of those furious tribunes, who were at the head of the contrary party to himself.

He was now upwards of fourscore years of age, when he was again called from his cottage to the dictatorship. Give me leave, *as usual*, to read to you on this occasion, my dear fellow-students, some more lines, which I have extracted from the antients; and noted down on my papers for this purpose. *Cum cuncti laudibus haud immeritis eum onerarent, & plus in illo senili animo, non consilii modo, sed etiam virtutis esse dicerent quàm in omnibus aliis; precatus Deos immortales Cincinnatus ne senectus sua in tam trepidis rebus damno dedecorive reipublicæ esset, dictator à consule dicitur: ipse deinde C. Servilium Ahalam magistrum equitum dicit.* LIVY.

BUT as to the wisdom and resolution shewn by *Cincinnatus* even at those years in that office; and his spirited conduct in *that* Forum, in suppressing the plot of *Mælius*; there can be no occasion for me to refresh your memory. Nor should I have troubled you to-day with so many particulars of so well known a character, if it had not been for

the sake of a parallel which I think you may very easily form in your imaginations between this *Roman* hero, and his *contemporary Aristides* *. If *Cicero* had executed his design of writing the *Roman* history, in how noble a manner would he probably have painted such a parallel? Their characters indeed were *remarkably similar* in many respects.

EACH was remarkable for his patience in adversity; as well as for his moderation, when elevated to the highest stations of honour and power. Each exerted in the cause of their country great military conduct and courage. Each practised constantly the noblest civil virtues; tempering justice with mercy, and firmness with mildness.

EACH died full of glory; never having accepted any pecuniary rewards for their services to the public: but persevering to the last in contentment and frugal poverty. Each shewed by his example that the great qualification for doing good is not wealth, but that noble and happy temper of mind, which requiring no superfluities at home, leaves the man at full liberty to serve his fellow-creatures. For (as *Plutarch* observes) that man is unfit for great acts, who aims at little objects: nor can he
relieve

* At the time of the death of *Aristides*, *Cincinnatus* was about forty years of age.

relieve the many needy, who himself needs many things. The most beneficent of all beings, the bounteous Creator and Supporter of the universe wants not any thing for himself: and in proportion as the virtuous man lessens his own wants, he more and more resembles Him, who is the God of all perfection and of all happiness.—But let us return to our present subject.

FROM this great similitude of the characters of *Aristides* and *Cincinnatus*, you perhaps, my dear young friends, may be inclined to indulge yourselves in the pleasing imagination, that the glorious virtues of the *Athenian* were possibly the models on which the *Roman* hero humbly formed his own. Nor will it upon examination be found merely a groundless fancy, that the *Romans* of this early age knew and perhaps imitated the merits of the *Grecians*. For not now to take notice of the numerous instances recounted by your favourite *Dionysius* of the perpetual connection between *Greece* and *Rome*, which subsisted in several respects, particularly in matters of religion; it is highly probable that the glory of the CITY OF ATHENS at the times of the battles of *Salamis* and *Plataea* was spread over all the regions of the then known world; certainly over all the *Grecian* colonies in *Italy*.

——— *Quis talem nesciat urbem*
Virtutesque, virosque, & tanti incendia belli?

——— *Quibus actus uterque*
Europæ atque Asiæ fatis concurrerit orbis,
Audiit, & siquem tellus extrema, &c.

It is also certain, that, during the life of *Cincinnatus*, the senate and people of *Rome* sent ambassadors to *Athens* to copy the laws of *Solon**. They arrived at *Athens*, while *Cimon*, the son of *Miltiades*, and (as you just now observed) the pupil of *Aristides*, was at the head of the state.

I HAVE often wished, said *Crito's* pupil, that a full and proper account of that famous voyage had been written by *Hermodorus*. *Hermodorus* was the assistant and fellow-student of those illustrious *Romans*, who had the honour to be named to that most glorious embassy; and was probably their fellow-traveller also. Such an account, I have often imagined, must have contained many amusing and curious particulars relative to the history of those times. Very entertaining would have been that

* *Missi legati Athenas Sp. Posthumius, A. Manlius, Serv. Sulpicius: jussique inclytas Solonis leges describere, & aliarum Græciæ civitatum instituta, mores, juraque noscere. LIVY, lib. 3.*

— *Αιτησάμενοι παρὰ των Ἑλλήνων τῆς κρατιστῆς νόμου καὶ μαλιστα τοῖς Ῥωμαίων ἀρμόττοντας βίοις. DION. HAL. lib. 10.*

that part of it, which described the entry of this *Roman* ship into the port of *Athens*; together with the prospect of the *Attic* coasts as at that time: on the left, the island of *Salamis*, adorned with the lately erected trophy of *Themistocles*: on the right, the view of the *Acropolis*; all the southern side of which was shining with the new fortifications, built by the munificent *Cimon* at his own expence. Perhaps also they might have discovered from the upper-deck the pleasant groves of the Academy, newly planted by the same great and good man. On landing at *Phalera*, how pleasingly might *Hermodorus* have described himself, as conducting these three *Romans* to the tomb of *Aristides*; who was buried there, about twenty-five years before, at the public charge; like their own *Publicola* and *Menenius*? Perhaps, while at *Athens*, they might have met and conversed with *Herodotus*, who, if I am not mistaken, was then about thirty years of age. How amusing would these and many other particulars have been? But what *weight of instruction* would probably have been found in those *other* parts of the volume, which related to the great legislative object of that voyage?

AMAZINGLY great indeed, replied the eldest of the young gentlemen with peculiar ardor, was

the

the public work, which was the fruit of that voyage. How extensive must have been the abilities, how indefatigable the industry of *these travellers*? Within the space of one year they collected the best part of the legislative wisdom of *Greece*. In the next year, after their return to *Rome*, they with the assistance of some other *Roman* senators, so excellently digested these noble materials, and so judiciously interwove them with the best part of the *Roman* law, as to form a code (that of the twelve tables) far superior to any thing of the kind, which the world perhaps ever saw.

Fremant omnes licet, dicam quod sentio; says Tully on this subject. Bibliothecas mehercule omnium philosophorum unus mihi videtur duodecim tabularum libellus superare. — Quantum præstiterint nostri majores prudentiâ cæteris gentibus, tum facillimè intelligetis; si cum illorum Lycurgo, & Dracone, & Solone nostras leges conferre volueritis. Incredibile enim est, quàm sit omne jus civile, præter hoc nostrum inconditum.

THE philosopher *Heraclitus*, in his third letter to *Hermodorus*, makes use of still more strange expressions. “May the gods of *Italy* receive you
“kindly! I dreamt that I beheld all the diadems
“of the world make their address to your laws;
“and, after the *Persian* manner, adore them;
“they

Chap. III. ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. 91

“ they being placed high above all the rest. When
“ you are dead, your laws shall bear a general
“ sway *.”

EXPRESSIONS still more strangely verified by the event. For from the twelve tables (which were, according to *Livy*, *fontes omnis publici privatiq; juris*) flowed that *Roman* civil law; which governed the whole *Roman* world; and which has contributed in a great measure to the regulating all the modern states of Christendom. So that, as *Kennet* observes, the old fancy of the *Romans* about the eternity of their command, is not so ridiculous as at first sight it appears; since by their admirable sanctions they are still like to rule for ever.

VERY unwilling ought I to be, replied *Crito's* pupil, to abate the noble pleasures of your imagination in any the least article: yet in relation to that epistle of *Heraclitus*, I cannot help recollecting, that, when I was at *Cambridge*, I heard some
of

* Δηλὸν μοι, Ερμώδωρε, ποτε ἀπαίρειν κερρικὰς εἰς Ἰταλίαν. διζάντο σὲ οἱ ἐκείνης τῆς χώρας θεοὶ, καὶ δαίμονες ἡδῶς. Ὅσαρ ἔδοκον τοῖς σοῖς νόμοις τὰ παρὰ πάσης τῆς οἰκουμένης διαδῆματα προσεῖναι, καὶ κατὰ τὸ εἶδος τῶν Περσῶν ἐγκλείοντας τὸ γόμα προσκύνειν αὐτοῖς. οἱ δὲ σέμνως πάνυ καδῖσθῃσαν. Προσκύνησθαι σὲ Εφεσίοι μνηστίοντα, ὅταν οἱ σοὶ νόμοι πᾶσιν ἐπιτάττωσι. Vid. *Aldus's* Greek Epistles, and *H. Stephens's* Poesis Philosophica. See also *Stanley's* Philosophers, fol. edit, p. 740.

of the *literati* of that place express their great doubt of its being genuine. But however this may be, yet in the catalogue of all the worthies of antient *Rome* there are surely no names more truly venerable than those of the three ambassadors to *Athens*, and of the other assistant compilers of the twelve tables; particularly *Hermodorus*, and most of the decemvirs, or *Roman* archons, of the first year.

WHEN I walk in this tabularium, around which place those tables were first suspended, I frequently think of the great dignity of a legislative character; and with pleasure foresee the honours which you, my two dear young friends, will probably some years hence acquire as members of the two great legislative assemblies of our country. May it be your happiness and your glory in some future time of peace, to be the promoters or assistants of some really wise and just reformation of the *English* law!

At other times, while I am viewing from hence that Forum, far other thoughts and reflections present themselves to my mind. I see in imagination *Appius's* tribunal stained with the blood of *Virginia*. How could he, who was spectator and fellow-labourer in the glorious work of the twelve tables, become himself so vile? If such is the astonishing corruption of mind, produced by pride
and

Chap. III. ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. 93

and power, may heaven graciously always continue me in a private station !

IN recollecting the black history of the third year of the *Roman* decemvirate, another painful object presents itself. I mean the character of *Q. Fabius*, grown degenerate not only from the virtues of his ancestors, but also from those, which had adorned his own youthful years. *Hunc virum, egregium olim domi militiæque, decemviratus, collegæque ita mutaverant, ut Appii quàm sui similis mallet esse.*

ON the other hand, the history of the same time presents us with several noble characters. I mean not only that of the brave *Siccius*, murdered by the perfidy of the same decemvirs ; but also of *Claudius*, who, though uncle to *Appius*, opposed him in all his wickedness. None of the three *Athenian* travellers, none of the illustrious *Quintian* family, partook of that usurpation and tyranny. But how great must your pleasure be, my dear young friend, in recollecting that your *Horatii* and *Valerii* were now again the deliverers of *Rome* ? For the two principal instruments in attempting and perfecting this restoration of the public liberty were those two noble friends, *Horatius*, grandson of *Cocles*, and *Valerius*, grandson of *Publicola*.

IF

IF, replied *Crito*, you carry on your attention to *Livy's* history of the following years, you will be rewarded by still more pleasure of the same noble kind. You will find the *Fabian* family soon recovering their honour. You will find another hero soon rising in the *Quintian* family; I mean young *Cincinnatus*, who was indeed a son worthy of such a father.

AT the same time appeared a happy omen of the most exalted future family-heroism in the great house of the *Cornelii*. Permit me to use the noble words of *Livy* on this subject. *Cornelius Cossus eximium tum fuit pulchritudine corporis, animo ac viribus par, memorque generis, quod amplissimum acceptum majus auctiusque reliquit posteris.*

IF, on this *Capitoline* mount, the temple of *Jupiter Feretrius* had been still remaining, with what pleasure would you, my young friends, have now visited it, and under its roof have conversed on this character of *Cornelius Cossus*? But even the situation of that temple is uncertain. According to the opinion of your learned antiquarian, it most probably stood on the western summit of this hill. To that place, if you please, we will now take our walk. In the way we may converse more largely on the glorious characters of these young *Romans*. Their virtues indeed greatly refresh and
relieve

relieve the mind, wearied with the study of the history of their miserable times. For miserable surely may we call their times, not only on account of the frequent famines, which then distressed this city; and of that long pestilence, which for several years continued to depopulate these streets; (being contemporary, and probably of the same nature with the plague of *Athens*) but still more on account of those perpetual seditions and wars, which are by far the greatest plagues and punishments of mankind.

* * *

IN crossing the way, the conversation of this company was interrupted by their accidentally meeting *there* another set of their young countrymen and schoolfellows, who were employed like themselves in making the tour of the antiquities of *Rome*. They however soon parted again, after having made an agreement to dine all together on the morrow, being one of the election days of *Westminster* School. They were to dine at the lodgings of the youngest and noblest of this company.

WE cannot but be deeply sensible, said he to *Crito*, (as soon as this other company were gone out of sight) of your kind intentions in thus dwelling on the praises of these *young Romans*. But if you for our sakes so kindly turn your attention
to

to that object ; we surely ought to be very glad whenever in our small private studies of the *Roman* history, we meet with any thing, which we think must be agreeable to you.

EARLY this morning, while I was endeavouring to prepare myself for your lecture by turning over the fourth book of *Livy*, I found there a contemporary character, which no doubt is far preferable to that of either of these youths. I mean the venerable *Mamercus Æmilius* ; under whom, during his first dictatorship, young *Cincinnatus* and *Cossus* began to signalize themselves, being probably greatly assisted by his instructions and example. Glorious as his first dictatorship was, yet his second was not inferior to it. I am sure, sir, you are of that opinion ; though this his second dictatorship was employed in works of peace, not of war ; and though it was followed not by a triumph, but by an unjust sentence against him. For I found by *Livy* this morning, that *Æmilius* having done his duty to his country in an affair which might have considerably affected the public liberty, was on that account by the opposite faction heavily fined and degraded from his rank : *sed hanc rem ipse ingenti animo tulit, causam potius ignominie intuens, quàm ignominiam.* He even defended his persecutors from the universal indignation both of senate and people, which on account of so unjust and shameful

Chap. III. MAMERCUS ÆMILIUS. 97

shameful a sentence, broke out against them to the great and deserved danger of their lives.

IN his third dictatorship (to which I with pleasure found that he was named by *Cornelius Cossus*, then advanced to the consular power; perhaps a happy omen of the future connection between the *Cornelii* and the *Æmilii*) *Æmilius* saved this city from a very formidable invasion; defeated in a great battle the perfidious and bloody enemy; and then, like your venerable *Cincinnatus*, *sefe abdicavit sexto decimo die, reddito in pace imperio, quod in bello trepidisque rebus acceperat.*

IN the following pages of the same fourth book of *Livy* I discovered another character; which, though not of high rank in fame, yet seemed to contain very great real merit. In relation to fame indeed, as well as in relation to other honours, how often may be found in the inferior ranks, persons of much superior merit to any of the most exalted names in the first or second?

THE character I mean is that of *Tempanius*. The bravery of that veteran in the field of battle seems equal to that of the most celebrated heroes. But his noble modesty, and generosity towards his unfortunate commander, will, I am sure, far more endear his memory, both to you, and to your good pupil, than any of his military heroisms.

VOL I.

K

BUT

BUT why should I endeavour to select one or two examples of patriotism and military fortitude in that age, when the great bodies of the nobility as well as commons, seem frequently to have been all inflamed with the same spirit?

How nobly did all the equestrian order, as well as all other inferior ranks, exert themselves in the beginning of the siege of *Veii*?

How gloriously did the whole senate behave in the *following* times of the utmost distress and danger?

CRITO's pupil now pointed to the cypress grove, which stands on the northern angle of mount *Palatine*; and observed to his young friends, that it was from that spot (according to the poetic description of *Livy*) *suprà ædem Vestæ, noctis silentio, audita vox erat, clarior humanâ, Gallos dicens adventare.*

THIS solemn quotation gave a new turn to the conversation. The youngest of the three friends recollected the *picturesque* prospects, which he had lately seen on the shores of *Senigallia*; along which, those *Gauls* (the types of the armies of *Alarick*) marked in their descent towards the southern parts of *Italy*: the eldest spoke of *Chiusi*, where the
rashness

Chap. III. ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. 99

rashness of the three young *Roman* ambassadors occasioned the most dreadful dangers to their country. The whole company then drew their thoughts nearer *Rome*, to the field of *Allia*; and to the road leading from the *Anio* to the *Colline* gate: at which gate *Brennus* entered this city.

How moving, said the eldest of the young gentlemen, is *Livy's* description of the bravery of the *Roman* garrison, which then defended *this Capitoline hill*? *Hic velut ad spectaculum positi occidentis patriæ. Nihil tamen, tot onerati atque obruti malis flexerunt animos; quin, etsi omnia flammis ac ruinis æquata vidiſſent, quamvis inopem parvumque, quem tenebant collem, libertati relictum, virtute defenderent.*

LAUDABLE as their patriotic fortitude was, replied *Crito*, yet surely the piety then practised by *L. Albinus* and *C. Fabius*, was not less venerable.

IN conversing thus, the company were now arrived at the door of a little garden near the *Strada Tarpea*; they entered it, and found the gardener cultivating in peace his melons and lettuces on the very spot, where,

*In summo custos Tarpeie Manlius arcis
Stabat pro templo, & Capitolia celsa tenebat.*

WITH silent earnestness did the young gentlemen hasten to the bank of that famous precipice. When they had passed sometime in surveying it*, *Crito* sat down on the gardener's bench, and, after a short pause, addressed himself to his pupil in the following manner.

YESTERDAY I had the happiness of passing several hours in some of the studies of my profession. One of my employments was the perusal of a French sermon, illustrating the doctrine, *that good works confer no merit on their performer, except when they are the consequences of a good intention.*—Indeed, without this indispensable requisite of a sincere good intention, no heavenly virtues can subsist one moment, no faith, no hope, no charity. Nor can any actions, however splendid or numerous, truly merit any praise, whether we find them in a Christian or in an heathen character.

LET us apply this doctrine to the history of that famous man, who justly gained the greatest glory, and justly suffered the most ignominious punishment,

* Great quantities of ruins have been, in length of time, accumulated at the foot of the *Tarpeian* rock, and houses built on the rubbish; so that is no wonder that the depth of the precipice is much diminished, though still considerable. On the other side of the *Capitoline* hill, towards the *Campo Marzio*, (near the *Cistern* hospital by the *Tor dei Specchi*) is another precipice which is of much greater depth, and which on that account has been mistaken by some writers for the spot of the *Rupes Tarpeia*.

punishment, on the spot where you now stand. You, my dear pupil, never read that history without a tear, or some heartfelt generous concern for him.

If indeed we look on the long and splendid catalogue of the good actions of *Manlius*, we shall find many of them worthy of the bravest hero; many of them worthy of the most benevolent saint.

MANY noble scars could he shew on his breast; and many marks of honour could he reckon, which were bestowed on him by the *Roman* generals; as proofs of his great military merit. Eight civic crowns had he gained by saving the lives of eight of his countrymen in battle. But the most famous of all his heroisms was that act of bravery *on this spot*, by which he preserved his country itself.

ON the other hand, at his own expence, and even by the sale of his own estate, he had released near four hundred poor debtors from the miseries of imprisonment and confiscation.

SUCH were his noble actions both in peace and war. But how dismally does the scene change, when we are *unwillingly* obliged to lay open the motives of those actions?

WITH silent earnestness did the young gentlemen hasten to the bank of that famous precipice. When they had passed sometime in surveying it*, *Crito* sat down on the gardener's bench, and, after a short pause, addressed himself to his pupil in the following manner.

YESTERDAY I had the happiness of passing several hours in some of the studies of my profession. One of my employments was the perusal of a French sermon, illustrating the doctrine, *that good works confer no merit on their performer, except when they are the consequences of a good intention.*—Indeed, without this indispensable requisite of a sincere good intention, no heavenly virtues can subsist one moment, no faith, no hope, no charity. Nor can any actions, however splendid or numerous, truly merit any praise, whether we find them in a Christian or in an heathen character.

LET us apply this doctrine to the history of that famous man, who justly gained the greatest glory, and justly suffered the most ignominious punishment,

* Great quantities of ruins have been, in length of time, accumulated at the foot of the *Tarpeian* rock, and houses built on the rubbish; so that is no wonder that the depth of the precipice is much diminished, though still considerable. On the other side of the *Capitoline* hill, towards the *Campo Marzo*, (near the *Cistern* hospital by the *Tor dei Specchi*) is another precipice which is of much greater depth, and which on that account has been mistaken by some writers for the spot of the *Rupes Tarpeia*.

punishment, on the spot where you now stand. You, my dear pupil, never read that history without a tear, or some heartfelt generous concern for him.

If indeed we look on the long and splendid catalogue of the good actions of *Manlius*, we shall find many of them worthy of the bravest hero; many of them worthy of the most benevolent saint.

MANY noble scars could he shew on his breast; and many marks of honour could he reckon, which were bestowed on him by the *Roman* generals; as proofs of his great military merit. Eight civic crowns had he gained by saving the lives of eight of his countrymen in battle. But the most famous of all his heroisms was that act of bravery on *this spot*, by which he preserved his country itself.

ON the other hand, at his own expence, and even by the sale of his own estate, he had released near four hundred poor debtors from the miseries of imprisonment and confiscation.

SUCH were his noble actions both in peace and war. But how dismally does the scene change, when we are *unwillingly* obliged to lay open the motives of those actions?

FROM natural constitution, and from ambition he was very brave; yet his intentions were very mean: he saved his country from the enemy; but was desirous of enslaving it to himself.

HIS largesses to the poor were very munificent; but full of ostentation, and void of real charity. They were calculated merely to draw the popular favour to his ambitious designs; and to ruin those truly great men, against whom his heart overflowed with that passion, which at first is called emulation, but which frequently grows by degrees to envy and meanness, malice and villainy.

LITTLE reason have I to apply this doctrine to any person of this company. May your youthful hearts always continue as honest as at present! And suffer me to add my earnest prayer, that no root of pride (that most dangerous passion) may ever be found in them!

BUT let us not dwell any longer on this disagreeable subject: let us leave this *Tarpeian* rock, nor even deign to visit the *neighbouring* spot of the house of *Mantius*; on which the temple of *Juno Moneta* was afterwards erected. Let us turn all our thoughts to that *Roman* worthy, who was by far the greatest hero of his times, and whose actions and designs were both equally laudable.

SAYING

Chap. III. ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. 103

SAYING this, he rose from his seat, and led the company out of the garden down the *Clivus Capitolinus* towards the *Forum*. He stopt at the great portico of the temple of *Concord*.

HERE *Crito's* poetical pupil began to invoke the manes of *Camillus*. His companions also expressed their earnest desire of attending to *Crito's* lecture on that glorious character. But he observing that the place was too public for reading; and that their conversation on these subjects had been this morning carried to a very unusual length, desired his pupil to accept the following paper to be perused by him and his two friends at their leisure in their own lodgings.

ACCORDINGLY descending from the *Capitol*, they visited the neighbouring street, where once were the *Busta Gallica*; and from thence returning home, conversed in the way with pleasure on the other scenes of the history of *Camillus*, which they had lately seen: particularly the fields by which they had passed the day before their arrival at *Rome*, and in which *Veii* is by some authors said to have stood. But with far more satisfaction did they recollect those places where the goodness of this hero was still more illustrious than his fortitude: the beautiful hills of *Tusculum*, on which they had so often looked with pleasure from the *Roman Cam-*

pania, and that other, if possible, still (at least by nature) more beautiful hill of *Monte Fiasconi*, anciently *Mons Faliscorum*, from whence they had lately admired the fertile plains of *Viterbo*, and the noble *Vulfinian* lake; regions, which, though so beautiful, *Camillus* would not acquire to his country by injustice or cruelty. *Eam namque vir sanctus & sapiens veram esse sciebat victoriam, quæ salvâ fide & integrâ dignitate pararetur* *.

IN passing along the street of the *Corso*, *Crito* stopt at a bookseller's shop. The young gentlemen went on to their lodgings: and, as soon as they were arrived there, immediately sat down to the perusal of the following paper.

C A M I L L U S.

*Quem virum aut heroa lyrâ vel acri
Tibiâ fumes celebrare, Clio? —*

WHO best deserves to be ranked immediately after the venerable characters of *Numa*, *Brutus*, and *Publicola*? Who so proper as *Camillus* to be joined to this noble triumvirate of the most exalted patriots, and almost founders of *Rome*?

CAMIL-

* Vide FLORI, lib. i. c. 12.

CAMILLUS, on his entrance into the administration of public affairs, found his country engaged in long and heavy wars with the neighbouring nations ; particularly with that of *Veii*, at that time the principal city of all *Etruria**, and in power (though when standing single by itself) equal to *Rome*. *Camillus* entirely subdued this obstinate enemy, and implacable rival of his country. But yet in the midst of the heat and glory of this conquest (a conquest, in his opinion, as just and necessary as it was important) he could not forbear shedding tears of compassion on its ruins ; with the same generous sense of humanity, which *Marcellus* and *Scipio*, and all the other true heroes of all countries and times, have constantly shewed on the like occasion.

IN the reduction of the other enemies of his country, *Camillus* was still more glorious. For he subdued them, not only by his military conduct and courage, but far more by the weight of his goodness and mercy to them. He saved them from destruction ; and at the same time thus, in the most effectual manner, secured and strengthened his own country ; leaving to all his future generations the great glory and benefit of such an example.

“ PERMIT

* Civitas antiquissima, Italiaeque ditissima. *Eutropius*.

“ PERMIT me, my dear pupil, here to lay
 “ down my pen for some few moments ; and to
 “ examine in your chronological tables whether I
 “ can find any *Grecian* worthy, *contemporary* and
 “ *similar* to this true *Roman* hero. — With joy let
 “ me add, that I find *Epaminondas* to have been
 “ his *contemporary*. Both *Camillus* and *Epaminon-*
 “ *das*, with true magnanimity, preferred justice to
 “ victory ; and both have consequently left a
 “ name, far more truly glorious, than that of
 “ any of those conquerors of the universe, which
 “ *Rome* or *Greece* soon afterwards produced.”

As to the internal factions and parties, which
 then divided this city, *Camillus*, though a patrician,
 was very far from ever being an oppressor of the
 commons. He hated all that scene of strife and
 discord. He is said to have always preferred strict
 justice, and his real patriotic duty to any vain po-
 pularity : and to have been firm in resisting the
 seditions of this people ; which was almost always
 turbulent against their own government, or avar-
 icious and ambitious in their designs against their
 neighbouring nations. *Fere semper aut domi sedi-*
tiones, aut foris bella. He is said also to have
 never shewed any jealousy of any particular person ;
 but to have always chosen those to be his assistants
 and colleagues in his high offices, who were likely
 to be most serviceable to the public. Unhappily,

as we must own, he was in his early years too sensible of his own great merits; and this unhappy circumstance was sufficient to convert great part of the general admiration of his virtues into hatred and malice against him. There is indeed no degree of merit, which pride will not destroy. On the other hand, the ingratitude of the *Romans* was certainly most inexcusable; for, with all the mean and miserable envy of an *Athenian* democracy, they passed sentence of banishment on this their great benefactor, and in all other respects (except this unhappy circumstance) most worthy man.

HOWEVER this may be, the behaviour of *Camillus*, on this occasion, certainly most highly deserves our attention. For he went not to seek refuge and protection among the enemies of the state, and to offer them, like *Coriolanus*, his impious service against his ungrateful country. On leaving *Rome*, he prostrated himself before the temples on the *Capitoline* hill, praying to heaven, that, in recompense for these his undeserved sufferings, he might soon have the satisfaction to hear that the *Romans* had occasion as earnestly to desire his recall, as they had to vote his banishment. And in this he did not, from resentment, wish that any calamity might fall on his country; but was only desirous, that, in such case, he might have the

the high pleasure of being her deliverer, even at the price of his own blood; and thus, in the most glorious and heroic manner, take this noble revenge for all her injustice to him. Thus did he put in practice that excellent doctrine, which *Plato* was at that very time teaching in the schools of *Athens*; that an honest and good man, however ill used by his country, preserves always in his heart a mediator in her behalf; and seeks all opportunities of doing her the greatest service in his power*, whether it be by life, or whether it be by death.

O MY dear pupil, how often have we regretted, that the virtues of *Rome*, during these ages, were not more known to the contemporary historians and philosophers of *Greece*? If *Plato*, during his *Sicilian* or *Italian* travels, had been acquainted with the actions of *Camillus*, in what glorious colours would he have painted such a character? How happy

* The behaviour of the *Athenian Aristides* was still more noble than that of *Camillus*. Being banished from *Athens*, he lifted up his eyes to the temples in the *Acropolis*, and prayed, that the *Athenians* might never suffer for their injustice to him, nor ever see that day, which should force them to wish for his recall. It is remarkable, that the invasion of *Greece*, by *Xerxes*, happened during the banishment of *Aristides*, as the *Gallic* invasion did during this of *Camillus*; and that both these heroes behaved on their recall in a similar noble manner, though perhaps the *Grecian* was always somewhat superior.

happy also would *Xenophon* have been, during his retreat at *Scillus*, in describing the amiable behaviour of *Camillus* during his banishment?

BUT let us not wander from the subject. Scarce had *Camillus*, with these exalted sentiments, patiently and quietly retired to his place of exile, when the *Gauls*, like an unexpected irresistible inundation, overwhelmed all the *Roman* territories. *Rome* saw almost in an instant all her legions sunk and scattered before the enemy; her ramparts deserted; her inhabitants flying from her in the height of despair on one side, and the barbarians pouring into her gates on the other; all her senators and magistrates (who were most venerable for age and dignity) massacred in the midst of the *Forum*, and all the buildings on six, out of her seven hills, in the utmost desolation, in ruins, and in flames.—In this utmost distress, where could she turn her eyes for assistance?—She called *Camillus* to this most dangerous and almost desperate service. He obeyed the summons with the greatest alacrity, and at the same time with the greatest modesty; a modesty greatly improved by his late adversities.

He marched to *Rome* with all expedition;—

THE



THE young gentlemen had proceeded thus far in the perusal of *Crito's* paper; when a large parcel of books, consisting chiefly of the historians and biographers of antient *Rome* and modern *Italy*, which they had lately purchased, being brought home, their lecture was for some time suspended. This pause gave an opportunity to *Crito's* pupil, (who among these books had bought, as a present for his tutor, the magnificent quarto edition of *Plutarch's* Lives in *Greek*) to observe, in opening the first volume, that, as all students in history must agree with *Plutarch* in the great similitude and parallelism of the times of *Camillus* and of *Themistocles*; so also he imagined, that if a young poet was attempting to describe the spirit of this march of *Camillus* to *Rome*, he would with joy endeavour to copy some of the ideas of that *Grecian* tragic poet, whose name they had mentioned this morning in the *Capitoline Atraneum*. I mean, said he, *Æschylus's* description of the approach of the *Grecians*, under the conduct of *Themistocles* and *Aristides*, to the battle of *Salamis*; while *Athens* lay before them all in smoke.

—— Παρην δ' ομν κλυειν

Πολλην βρον· Ω παιδες Ελληνων ιτε

Ελευθεριτε

Ελευθεριε πατριδ'· Ελευθεριε δη
 Παιδας, γυναικας, θεων τε πατρων εδη
 Θηκας τε προγονων· Nun υπερ παυτων αγων ---
 Ες' αρ' Αθηνων, ες' απορθητ' πολις·
 Ανδρων γαρ οντων, ερκ' ες-ιν ασφαλεις.

ÆSCHYLI PERSÆ.

THE eldest of the young gentlemen, who had bought some of the *Venetian* historians, observed also, that in the *modern* history of *Italy* something might be found very *similar*, and perhaps superior to this noble behaviour of *Camillus*. I mean, said he, in the history of those times, when *Venice*, (which city once seemed to be rising to rival the antient glory and power of *Rome* and of *Athens*) was on a sudden reduced to almost as great distress, as *Rome* in the time of *Camillus*, or *Athens* in that of *Themistocles* and *Aristides*. With what pleasure did you, dear sir, (speaking to the youngest gentleman) during our stay at *Venice*, visit the senate-house of that republic, being informed that it was adorned with the history of the chief heroisms of that nation, painted by *Titian*, and others, the principal masters of the *Venetian* school; in the same manner as the *British* House of Lords is adorned with those rich tapestries representing the victories over the *Spanish* Armada? But how particularly were *you* (turning to *Crito's* pupil) pleased
 in

in finding in the middle of that grand senatorial chamber, and immediately fronting the ducal throne, a large picture representing this delivery of the *Venetian* state by *Vittor Pisani*, and that great and good man joined with the Doge *Cornaro* in a solemn religious, as well as triumphal, procession on that great occasion?—But let us return to *Camillus*.

HE marched to *Rome* with all expedition. He attacked the victorious *Gauls* in the midst of the ruins of this city: he conquered, and had the particular happiness and glory of seeing, on the very day on which he himself returned from banishment, his country also saved, and her liberty and laws, her power and reputation, her security and even her existence, all restored by his patriotic valour.

CAMILLUS, after these most great services to the public, continued still the same noble and exalted patriotism during all the remainder of his days. Far from ever sinking below his former behaviour, (though he lived five and twenty years longer) the glory of his virtue was encreasing even to the last. He considered, doubtless, how shameful it would be in any character, but how particularly so in such a character as he himself had acquired,
 ever

ever to cease or remit his utmost endeavours for the public good, as long as the least breath of life should remain in his breast.

IN the following year, by rebuilding the city, he became its second founder: by his reverential care in restoring the religious rites and ruined temples of his country, he almost equalled the piety of *Numa*. Indeed, both the virtues and the abilities of several of the best kings and best consuls of *Rome* seemed to be revived in the character of *Camillus*. Of all the fortunate events, which ever happened to this city, surely there was none greater, than her being blessed at such a time with such a son.

IF it not had been for his dutiful assistance, probably she must have sunk for ever. For, even after the violence of the *Gallic* storm was past, the seas still continued to run very high: and the ship of the state (to speak in your favourite *Horatian* stile) was reduced to such extreme debility by the late hurricane, as now to be scarce able to bear the least gale. In steering and refitting such a wreck, *Camillus* exerted the greatest prudence.

NOR was his magnanimity abated by the length of such labours, or by the approach of old age.

Frequently, *even then*, did *Camillus* take the field in defence of his country ; and behaved there with the same spirit, as in the height of the noble ardour of his youth. In several important battles with the neighbouring nations, in which the *Roman* armies began to give way, he cast himself out of his litter (in which he was confined by age and sickness), and recovered the victory out of the enemy's hands. To conclude all his military merit, he marched out of this city at the age of fourscore and three years, to resist the *Gauls*, (who were again returning hither with an army much more formidable than that of *Brennus*) and by their total defeat preserved *Rome* from the return of all her former dreadful calamities.

THE other labours of his declining years were, that he several times saved the allies of *Rome* from ruin ; that he reclaimed several cities which were on the point of revolting from her, and by his mediation with the senate averted their punishment. As to the domestic affairs of the commonwealth, he still continued to bear up in all the storms of faction with the same prudence and firmness, with the same impartiality and noble intentions, as in the vigour of his manhood. He at last had the happiness of being the instrument of a great reconciliation between the contending parties: and
on

on that account had the honour of erecting the temple of *Concord**, situate between the *Forum* and the *Capitol*. He consecrated it almost in his last hour: a worthy monument of his love to all the members of this country; and of his gratitude to heaven, for having crowned his long and glorious life with so truly noble a conclusion.

L 2

CHAP.

* The noble portico of the temple of *Concord*, which is to this day remaining, bears the following republican inscription:

SENATUS POPULUSQUE ROMANUS

INCENDIO CONSUMPTUM RESTITUERUNT.

Probably the original temple of *Camillus* was burnt in the conflagration of the *Capitol* during the miserable civil wars of *Marius* and *Sylla*; and thus rebuilt before the consulship of *Tully*.

CHAP. IV.

FOURTH DAY'S CONVERSATION.

NEAR the place where the river *Anio* joins its small stream to that of the *Tiber*, stands the arch of the *Ponte Salario*, being the most entire of any of the antient bridges in the neighbourhood of *Rome*.

It was in this place, that *Titus Manlius Torquatus* nobly distinguished himself in full front both of the *Roman* and *Gallic* armies. Most glorious indeed was the spirit of that young hero. With the
 360. greatest generosity he had lately defended the cause of his father, (*acerbitas enim patria nihil avertibat animum ejus à pietate*) and here, soon afterwards,
 358. he acquired scarce less glory by his fortitude, as champion in the cause of his country. His modesty also, and obedience to his superiors, were not less laudable. *Injussu tuo, imperator, nunquam pugnaverim, dixit; non si certam victoriam cernerem.*

THE three young *English* gentlemen had, during their short morning's ride from *Rome* to this bridge, been engaged in earnest discourse on this character
 of

of *Torquatus*. Here also, (after having passed some time in perusing the inscriptions engraven on each side of this bridge, in memory of the brave *Narfes**) they resumed the same subject.

Macte virtute ac pietate in patrem patriamque, Tite Manli! said *Crito's* pupil, (in a kind of rapturous soliloquy) for in what part of the *Roman* history shall we find recorded two more noble and truly laudable actions? Let us not then obscure the glory of these, by recollecting the sad scene of thy tribunal in the fields of *Capua*. On that subject let us be silent: for how exalted soever thy intention might then, as always, have been; and however filled with that spirit, which thy contemporary countrymen esteemed as the perfection of patriotism; yet surely that action itself was of so terrible a kind, as to be painful to all perusers of thy history, and particularly shocking to *youthful* minds. Far from that scene let us turn our thoughts, and apply all our attention to these former parts of thy

L 3

heroic

* The upper part of this arch was repaired by *Narfes* in the reign of the emperor *Justinian*; but the lower part of the piers are manifestly far more antique.

One of the inscriptions engraven here is in verse, the other is as follows: *Imperante D. N. piissimo ac triumphali Justiniano, P. P. Aug. Anno 38. Narfes vir gloriosissimus ex præposito sacri palatii excons. atque patricius post victoriam Gothicam ipsis Cesarum regibus celebritate mirabili confectum publico superatis atque prostratis libertate urbis Romæ ac totius Italiæ restituta Pontem viæ Salaris usque ad aquam a nefandissimo Totila Tyranno destructum purgato fluminis alveo in meliorem statum quam quondam fuerat renovavit.*

heroic life, which are far more suitable for our studies and imitations ; I mean, thy most exemplary dutifulness to thy father, and thy bravery for the public service in *this* place.

How very *similar* (continued he, after some pause, turning to the eldest of his two companions) was this heroism of *Torquatus* against the *Gallie Goliath* on this bridge, to that of *your Valerius Corvus* in the *Pomtine* marshes twelve years afterwards ? In reading with you lately the description of both these famous single combats, how frequently did we recollect several *similar* heroic scenes in the *Iliad* ? In the *Æneid* too are several descriptions, the hint of which seem to have been taken from facts, which *Virgil* found related in (his first proposed subject for his epic poems) the *Roman* history. *The fatal bird*, which assisted *Æneas* in his last combat with *Turnus*, how strongly does it resemble the raven of *Valerius* ?—But trifling is the pleasure rising from such critical conjectures as these in comparison of that noble happiness, which I saw shine in your eyes, my dear friend, while perusing in the following pages of *Livy* the amiable character of the same *Valerius*, when advanced by his own merit, and by that of his family, to the consular and dictatorial power. How much more pleasing a picture than that of the tribunal of *Torquatus* ?
Non aliàs militi familiarior dux fuit, omnia inter infimos

infimos militum haud gravatè munia obeundo ; factis erat Valerius benignus pro re ; dictis haud minùs libertatis alienæ, quàm suæ dignitatis memor. Still more exemplary was his behaviour in the great sedition in the year A. C. 339, when he was appointed general against the rebels. *Omnes caritate cives complexus, ad colloquium processit. Cognito ei extemplo haud minor ab adversariis verecundia, quàm ab suis silentium datum. Deos, inquit, immortales ab urbe proficiscens ita adoravi, supplexque veniam poposci ut mihi de vobis concordiae partæ gloriam, non victoriam darent. Ego sum M. Valerius Corvus, milites, cujus vos nobilitatem beneficiis ergà vos, non injuriis, sensistis ; nullius superbiæ in vos legis, nullius crudelis senatus consulti auctor ; in omnibus meis imperiis in me severior, quàm in vos.*

I AM much obliged to you (replied the eldest of the young gentlemen) for your politeness in addressing to me this encomium on the family virtues of the *Valerii*. I hope I was not tedious yesterday on that subject. As to that book of *Livy*, of which you speak, it was indeed with great pleasure that I perused it with you last week. In reflecting since on its contents, a thought has occurred to me, on which I should be glad of your opinion. That heroic bravery of *Valerius Corvus*, in the *Pomine* marshes, of which you are now taking notice, and the great general victory then gained by the Ro-

mans in consequence of it, seem to be the true finishing strokes of that *long Gallic war* which had continued to lay waste all these parts of *Italy* for near forty years. For it was in defence of their country against the invasions of the *Gauls*, that both *Torquatus* and *Valerius Corvus*, both *Camillus* and his worthy son*, exerted their noble fortitude. Yet dreadful and destructive as that long *Gallic war* appeared, I know not whether it may not be justly thought to have really been very serviceable to *Rome*. It cut indeed the *Roman* power down to the very root; but the consequence was, that in some very few months it sent forth much stronger shoots than usual. *Ab ipso Duxit opes, animumque ferro.* The same invasion of the *Gauls* seems to have occasioned great revolutions in the other states of *Italy*, even down to the extremities of *Apulia*. In this its violent progress it seems to have cleared the way for the rise of the *Roman* power. Certainly, soon after that northern inundation ceased, we may perceive a very remarkable change in the history of *Italy*. *Majora citò bella, & viribus hostium, & longinquitate, vel regionum vel temporum spatio, quibus bellatum est, dicentur.* *Rome* indeed then began greatly to extend its dominion, which till that time had been hardly

* Many were the proofs of the military merit of this worthy son of the great *Camillus*; nor perhaps fewer of his generosity and other virtues. See particularly his noble oration, while pleading for mercy to the *Latines*. LIVY, lib. viii. chap. 13.

Chap. IV. ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. 121

hardly larger than the modern *Campagna di Roma*. Within the narrow limits of these plains had it been confined for upwards of four hundred years; for until the times of *Valerius Corvus*, even *that* neighbouring hill of *Tivoli* was a garrison of the enemy.

Is it not also remarkable (continued he after some pause) that, *at this very same time*, both the *Roman* and *Macedonian* power began to extend themselves from their antient narrow limits to that vast dominion which was called the empire of the world? To that point the *Macedonian* power advanced with a rapidity scarce parallel'd in the history of mankind; it was the rapidity and blaze of a comet, but its duration was but short. *Rome*, on the contrary, grew more gradually to its great height, and consequently continued in it much longer.



THE young gentlemen now remounted their horses, and returned to *Rome*. In the way, the youngest of the company spoke with great pleasure of the excellence of the fine arts in *Greece*, during those times of *Philip of Macedon*, when *Apelles* and *Lysippus* began to flourish. The eldest repeated with rapture several favourite passages in the *Olynthiaks* and other orations of *Demosthenes*: but *Crito's* pupil turned the conversation to the amiable character of *Timoleon*. He wished also, that his tutor
had

had been present to have given the company a proper and worthy idea of *Aristotle*.

ON their arrival at *Rome* they met several of their young countrymen, and (according to appointment) passed the remainder of the day with them in great cheerfulness and gaiety. In the afternoon they had the pleasure of receiving by the post some fresh news papers from *England*, and of congratulating each other on the glorious articles contained in them. The *English* nation was indeed at that time victorious both by sea and land, in all the quarters of the globe; and (what is far more truly glorious than any victories) was daily shewing to the world an unexhausted succession of heroes, full of the most real military merit.

TOWARDS the close of the afternoon, *Crito's* pupil proposed to the company to make a visit to that artist in the *Campo Marzo*, who (according to orders which he had received from *London*) was working on clay a design for a bas relief on the monument of general *Wolfe*. To this proposal the company unanimously and immediately agreed. They passed half an hour with great, though melancholy, pleasure in the working-shop of that artist; and then separated.

Chap. IV. ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. 123

THE three young gentlemen, to whom these papers chiefly relate, were engaged that evening to a concert in the palace of a cardinal, truly eminent for his politeness and learning. But, as it was not yet time to go thither, they agreed to take a walk first in the neighbouring gardens of *Monte Cavallo*; which were then open to the public; their owner being in the country.

IN a deep recess in those gardens is a large alcove shaded by several aged plane-trees, and rendered still more cool by a fountain playing before it. In the same alcove also is an organ, which plays by waterwork; being set to several pieces of church-music.

IN this retirement they found *Crito* sitting alone, and reading a new *English* pamphlet; entitled, "An abridgment of the dying thoughts of the
" reverend, learned, and holy Mr. *Baxter*.

ON the solemn subject of death he had indeed been studying and meditating all that day*, and had that afternoon finished a sermon, the leading thought of which had occurred to him about a fortnight past, on Easter-eve, while he was taking
a so-

* Vid. Twelfth Day's Conversation.

a solitary walk near the *Lateran Baptistery*. In this sermon he had with great pleasure interwove several extracts from the pious compositions of Bishop *Ken*.

CRITO, on seeing his young friends approach, rose from his seat, and met them with a countenance full of benignity and tranquillity; such sweet tranquillity, as plainly proved how much of that day had been passed by him in devotion.

THEY informed him that at the concert, to which they were going, the solemn Passion Oratorio of *Metastasio* was to be performed; and assured him that he would be very well received by his Eminence.

ACCORDINGLY with great pleasure *Crito* attended them thither. The concert lasted till about three hours in the night, that is in *English*, till between ten and eleven o'clock.

As they were returning home at that time, *Crito's* pupil proposed that instead of going directly to their lodgings, they should first take the *fresco* for half an hour, according to the *Italian* custom in that warm season of the year; he added, that he imagined the *Forum Romanum* would not be an unpleasing

Chap. IV. ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. 125

unpleasing place to visit for such a purpose, nor unsuitable to that noble and happy melancholy, with which the minds of all the company seemed to be overspread.

THE sun had now been set several hours, the moon too was sinking near the edge of the horizon, when they entered that venerable place. The high buildings on the *Capitoline* hill cast a gloomy shade over the whole *Forum*, and over all the antient temples surrounding it; on the other hand, the moon shining on the arched ruins of mount *Palatine*, and on the cypress grove with which its summit is crowned, added not a little to the solemnity of the scene. Not a breeze was stirring; every thing was most solitary and still.

Horror ubique animos, simul ipsa silentia terrent.

AWFUL as this grand scene is at present (said the eldest of these noble youths) how much greater sublimity attends its idea, when we reflect on that description of it, which we read last night in *Livy* and *Plutarch's* life of *Camillus*. For it was round this very area, in which we are now walking, that all the *Roman* senate, particularly those most venerable for age and dignity, then sat in quiet and solemn expectation of death; dressed in their robes,
and

and seated in their chairs of state *summo silentio, vultuque hominibus augustiore: M. Fabio, Pontifice Maximo carmen devotionis præcinente.* Surely we ought to be more struck *religione hujus loci*, than yesterday even with that of the *Capitol.*—But what effect ought this awful place to have had on the minds of the antient *Romans*? This place, which was their house of Parliament; washed and as it were consecrated with the blood of their whole senate, and of the whole body of their magistracy, who had here devoted themselves to certain death, rather than survive their country:

Egregiique animis, fortunatique laborum.

VENERABLE (replied his youngest friend) as the death of these veteran patriots was, yet, thank heaven there are not wanting instances of as noble spirit in *young* men. It ought indeed to grieve one, such as myself, to think that his mind is so little exalted, when so many persons of our own *youthful* age have shewn as ardent a love to their country, and as great fortitude and contempt of death, as ever adorned the greyest head. It was close by this very fountain (the murmurs of which alone break this midnight silence) that *Curtius, ille*
 359. *juvenum fortissimus alios seniores tardioresque exemplo suo castigavit, nihil esse pretiosius ostendens juventutē & virtute:*

virtute: in hoc ipso loco, silentio facto, templa deorum immortalium, quæ huic foro imminet, Capitoliumque intuens, Et manus nunc in cælum, nunc in patentes terræ hiatus ad deos manes porrigens, se devovit: in hoc ipso loco, equo quàm poterat maxime exornato, armatus se in specum immisit. What pity is it that his most noble equestrian statue in this attitude, which now adorns the walls of the *Borghese Villa*, was not preserved in some public building erected in this spot, *ad perpetuam rei memoriam, perpetuumque juventutis incitamentum?*

WHATEVER may be thought of that story of *Curtius*, replied *Crito*, yet certainly in general the doctrine of meeting death in the cause of public beneficence, of meeting it not only with firmness but with alacrity also, is most true and noble in itself; as well as most highly useful to mankind. Happy is it, that there are to be found, in the history of the world, so many encouraging examples of it in all times and in all countries. What multitudes, both of old and young, have in this cause poured forth their blood? How frequently have both the learned and the ignorant, the Heathen and the Christian, with this same intention, willingly entered the gates of death? This was the doctrine of the *Greek* and *Roman* philosophy; this has been confirmed by Christianity by much stronger

stronger and nobler arguments, and by much higher examples.

It was in particular a religious opinion, received by the antients with the utmost veneration, that in great dangers of the state, the impending destruction might sometimes be averted; if the prince or some of the chief magistrates had the nobleness of mind to be willing to offer themselves as a sacrifice for their country, and to devote themselves to certain death for her sake.—This opinion, though plainly mixed with a very great degree of superstition, yet perhaps in its origin referred to *something really most venerable, as well as most mysterious.*

It might also probably in part arise from that observation (which is confirmed by the experience of all ages and nations) that, where the governors are such, as to be sincerely willing to undergo all labours, dangers, and sufferings, and even to shed their blood for the real welfare of their people; that the people also will by these means acquire such a degree of strength as well as of virtue; that it will be scarce in the power of any enemy to overturn their state, or of any weight of adversity to sink it down.

MANY

MANY have been the heroes of antiquity, who from such motives have gladly devoted themselves to certain death*: but there are scarce any perhaps who are in this glory superior to the *Roman* family of the

D E C I . I

SAYING this, *Crito* endeavoured to refresh his memory by reading some lines of his notes, as well as he could by moonlight. He then put his papers again into his pocket; and, leaning his arm against one of the three pillars of the temple of *Jupiter Stator*, spoke as follows:

O MY dear fellow-travellers, if our intended journey to *Beneventum* should take effect; let us not omit, while entering that *Samnite* country, to recollect the fortitude and generosity of *Publius Decius*. Perhaps our road may carry us to *Saticula*; and along that neighbouring valley, where this hero, then a tribune in the army, began to

VOL. I.

M

signalize

* *Codrus* the *Athenian*; *Menæceus* the *Theban*; &c. but the most truly laudable of all these characters seems to be that monarch, whose spirit *Fenelon* worthily places among the principal patriot kings, in his *Elysian Fields*: *Eunefyme*, *roi des Pyliens*. Dans une peste qui ravageoit la terre, il demanda aux dieux d'apaiser leur colère, en payant par sa mort pour tant des milliers d'hommes innocens. Les dieux l'exaucerent; & lui firent trouver dans l'autre vie la vraie royauté, dont toutes celles de la terre ne sont que des vaines ombres. TELEMAQUE, l. xix.

340. signalize his favourite virtue of sacrificing his own safety to the public welfare. With what pleasure will you survey those woods and hills; where, by the bravery of this one man, the whole *Roman* army was saved from a *Caudine* fate?

FAR more exalted will be your thoughts; when, advancing further into those southern parts of *Italy*, you will view that plain, which lies between the city of *Naples*, and mount *Vesuvius*. There *Decius*, then consul, commanded the *Roman* army in conjunction with his famous colleague, *Titus Manlius Torquatus*. There *both* these illustrious
 337. consuls voluntarily offered themselves to certain death, *pro republicâ, legionibus, & auxiliis populi Romani*.

DECIUS alone *in fact* obtained that happy and honourable lot. In his part of that field of battle, victory beginning to incline in favour of the enemy, he called aloud to *M. Valerius*, (who was then pontifex, and attended the army in that character) desiring him to begin instantly the awful solemnity of his devotement.

BUT give me leave for further particulars of that action to refer you to your nobly-spirited historian, *Livy*. In speaking of these heroes, my stile is far too cold and languid.

INDEED,

INDEED, I must own that the great mixture of heathenish superstition in these characters frequently casts a damp on my heart, which would otherwise be certainly far more inflamed with their virtues. Yet let me add, that such virtuous intentions, if they had been directed and sanctified by a better knowledge and faith, would not have been unworthy of the holiest primitive saints of this city. For with what ardour, if they had lived in the times of any of the ten persecutions, would the *Torquati* and *Decii* probably have struggled for the crown of martyrdom? How far more amiable also would the characters of *your Valerii* have been, if we can suppose them thus to have been converted to Christianity? Some of the *Valerian* family perhaps would have presided then, not in the heathen pontificate, but in the episcopal office of this city; and have adorned that station with all the virtues of a *Clemens Romanus*; being indeed, according to their natural temper, neither given to lucre, nor priding themselves as lords over God's heritage; but, in mildness and love, examples to their flock; and of a ready mind to lay down their lives for it.

HERE *Crito* paused; withdrawing his arm, which was reclined against one of the pillars of *Jupiter Stator's* temple; and earnestly fixing his eyes in

silence on that opposite church, which stands on the ruins of the *Tullian* prison.

THIS pause however did not last longer than some few moments. He turned round to his company, and changed the subject of the conversation, asking them some kind questions relative to the care of their health, during their intended journey to *Naples*, in this hot season of the year.

A winter-journey to *Naples*, replied the eldest of the young gentlemen, would certainly be far more convenient and pleasant than one at this season. However we must contrive to abate this inconvenience by proper care. We intend setting out immediately after the twenty-ninth of next month (June); and in the mean time are looking forward to that country with great pleasure.

AMONG the many noble entertainments, which we promise to ourselves there, one is, that probably, during some of your leisure hours, you will kindly explain to us, while on the spot, the history of the progress of the *Roman* conquests in *that* country; and the gradual reduction of all the famous *Grecian* republics, which then filled those southern coasts of *Italy*. For will it not, dear sir, furnish some proper matter for your moral reflections,

tions, to consider, that at the very time, while the armies of *Greece* were, under the conduct of *Alexander* the Great, piercing into the furthest regions of the East, the *Grecian* colonies in these western regions began to give way to another power: *Naples* 323. then becoming subject to the *Romans*?

IN the plains of *Naples*, and in the usual excursion from that city to *Beneventum*, we shall with pleasure think of your *Decius*: But will not you also, while we are then passing near the ruins of *Caudium*, recollect with some favourable thoughts the magnanimity shewn at the gates of that city by *Posthumius*, and his brother-consul *Veturius*? 318. For however perfidious and infamous the conduct of the *Roman* state was on that occasion, yet you will certainly make the most favourable and just allowances to the consuls, tribunes, and other officers who commanded in that most unfortunate expedition of the *Caudine* forks, and who were thus willing to atone for their country by their deaths. I remember the words of *Livy* on the subject. *Hi suam certè liberaverunt fidem; suis capitibus omnem iram hostium excipientes; cruciatibus se offerentes; Et piacula dare conati pro populo Romano. Posthumium certè Romani æquabant devotioni P. Decii consulis.*

134 ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. Book I.

BUT let me not any longer interrupt you in your present considerations of the virtues of the *Decian* family.

ABOUT twenty-seven years after the glorious death of *P. Decius*, continued *Crito*, (casting his eye on his paper of notes) we have the satisfaction to find his son advanced to the consulship; an advancement probably in great measure owing to the gratitude and respect which the public justly bore to the memory of his father. His brother-consul was *Marcus Valerius*, another hero of that inexhaustible source of great and good characters, *your Valerian* family. In the following years they served together as lieutenant-generals; and a very
308. important victory, which the *Romans* then gained over their most formidable enemies, the *Samnites*, was greatly attributed to the bravery and military merit of these two officers. Accordingly at the next election they were unanimously chosen, *now for their own merit*, *Valerius* prætor, *Decius* consul.

FROM that time we find this second *Decius* continually at the head of the state. In those high stations he continued to lead a life of great piety to heaven (according to the religion of this city in those ages) and of love to the public. It would be with particular pleasure that I should now read to you, if it were day-light, the speech which he
made

made in this Forum, (methinks I see him now here 300.^o before us) pleading that the plebeian families might be admitted to the happiness and honour of the priesthood, and of some other offices of public piety, as well as the nobles *. *Deorum causâ, inquit, expetimus, (pace dixerim Deum) ut quos privatim colimus, publicè colamus: non ut patricios locopellamus; sed ut adjuvemus illos nos homines plebei divinis quoque rebus procurandis, sicut in cæteris humanis pro virili parte adjuvamus.*

DURING the following years, Decius was almost constantly engaged in a course of great public business with that venerable person, *Quintus Fabius Rullianus*; in relation to whose character I shall perhaps trouble you with a paper to-morrow morning. With him Decius had been censor; and now, during the last five years of his life, was no less than three times consul. It is to be observed, that this almost perpetual colleagueship was owing in great measure to the earnest solicitations of *Fabius*.—*Si S. P. Q. R. sibi adiutorem belli sociumque*
M 4 *imperii*

* Three or four years after this speech of Decius, and perhaps partly from a hint contained in it, the plebeian matrons dedicated their temple to Modesty. *Hanc aram, inquit Virginia, Pudicitiae Plebeiae dedi. o; vosque hortor. plebia matronæ, ut quod certamen virtutis viros in hac civitate tenet, hoc pudicitiae inter matronas sit: detisque operam. ut hæc ara, quàm illa patriciarum, siquid potest, sanctius & à castioribus coli dicatur.*

imperii darent, quoniam modo se oblivisci P. Decii posse? Neminem omnium secum conjungi malle: & copiarum satis sibi cum P. Decio: & nunquam nimium hostium fore.—The very same turn of expression, as that of the speech in the *Iliad*; which I remember, while at *Westminster*, you, my dear friends, in some of your first friendly studies together, used highly to admire.

ΤΟΥ Δ' ΑΥΤΙΣ ΜΕΤΕΕΙΠΕ ΒΟΗΝ ΑΓΑΘΗ ΔΙΟΜΗΔΗΣ·
 ΕΙ ΜΕΝ ΔΗ ΕΤΑΡΟΥ ΓΕ ΚΕΛΕΥΕΤΕ Μ' ΑΥΤΟΥ ΕΛΕΟΘΑΙ
 ΠΩΣ ΑΝ ΕΠΕΙΤ' ΟΔΥΣΗ ΕΓΩ ΘΕΙΟΙΟ ΛΑΘΟΙΜΗΝ,
 'ΟΥ ΠΕΡΙ ΜΕΝ ΠΡΟΦΡΩΝ ΚΡΑΔΙΗ, ΚΑΙ ΘΥΜΟ ΑΓΗΝΩΣ
 ΕΝ ΠΑΤΕΣΣΙ ΠΟΝΟΙΣΙ, ΦΙΛΕΙ ΔΕ 'Ε ΠΑΛΛΑΣ ΑΘΗΝΗ.

BUT let us return to these, the much greater heroes of *Rome*. At that time, you know, the *Roman* power was greatly extending itself; not only over the bloody fields of *Samnium*, southward into *Apulia* and *Lucania*; but also to the north, far beyond its antient boundaries of the *Ciminian* forest, to the high hills of *Perugia*; and even across the *Apennine* mountains into the country of the *Galli Senones*.

THERE, in the neighbourhood of *Sentinum*, this
 295. *Decius* commanded the left wing of the *Roman* army, as his senior colleague *Fabius* did the right. The cavalry and infantry of the left wing being disor-
 2 dered

dered and broken by the enemy *; *Quid ultra moror, inquit Decius, familiare fatum. Datum hoc est nostro generi, ut luendis periculis piacula simus. Hæc locutus, eadem precatone, eodemque habitu se pro populo Romano devovit, quo pater ejus P. Decius ad Vesperim se devooverat.*

O MY dear young countrymen, your hearts, I know, are continually burning to imitate the characters of those among your ancestors, whose names adorn the history of your country: with what pleasure, with what rapture, may you now contemplate, in the history of the family of the *Decii*, such a son copying the patriotism of such a father even unto death; and both their memories thus joined together, and crowned with the same glory?

SURELY, of all the various causes, which contributed to the amazing greatness of *Rome*, none is more worthy of observation, than the incessant ardour, which for many ages continued to inflame the several great families of this city; I mean the ardour of imitating, if not excelling, the virtues and laudable actions of their ancestors. Thus we find

* This disorder of the *Roman* legions was occasioned by the way of fighting of the enemy, in armed chariots; probably the same kind of cars, as those in which the *Britons* struck confusion among the legions of *Julius Cæsar* on the shore of *Kent*.

find magnanimity, firmness, generosity, patriotism even unto death, and many other virtues, when once entered into a family, to have continued there for many generations. Such as the fathers, such were the *children* and *grand-children* of the *Valerii Quintii*, *Camilli*, *Fabii*, *Papirii*, *Decii*; and hundreds of others. No wonder, that the world at length fell under their feet.

THOUGH the moon is now setting, yet I cannot conclude without reading to you, as well as I am able, from this paper, an extract of three or four lines from *Tully's* noble treatise *De contemnenda morte*.

Denique bello contra Pyrrhum regem, Tertius Decius se Tertiam victimam reipublicæ præbuit, a paterno avitque in patriam amore non degener.

GIVE me leave, dear sir, again to observe, that how much soever these heroes were misled by the ignorance and barbarous superstition of their times, yet certainly the nobleness of their intentions, and the exalted degree of their benevolence to their country, are such as would do honour to characters of the greatest wisdom; to ages and nations the most enlightened. For, surely, the great duty of beneficence has not only a claim on us for our whole time and fortune, and for the labours

Chap. IV. ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. 139

bours both of our bodies and minds; it has a claim to our blood also. Perhaps among all particular duties of beneficence, there is not any one which can make a juster and stronger demand of this kind, than our duty to our country; I mean, when we are called to this service on such an occasion as makes it just, and necessary, and consistent with our duty to the rest of mankind. Nor is there a more noble patrimony in any family, than this of being able to count up several of their house, who have, like the *Decii*, performed this great duty, and left this exalted example.

BUT why should I thus dwell on the examples of Heathens, or on the virtues of their confined and narrow patriotism?

O MY dear Fellow-Christians, let us recollect what ought to have been our thoughts on last Easter-day. On that most solemn day did we not reflect with great and (I hope) due pleasure, that all Christians of all denominations, of all countries, were at that time celebrating the great memory of the *Passion of THAT DIVINE PERSON**, who willingly laid down his life *for the salvation of the whole world*?

O THAT

* Εμελλεν ο Ιησους αποθνησκειν υπερ της εθνης* και ηκ υπερ της εθνης μονον, αλλ' ινα τα τικνα της Θεις τα δισκορπισματα συναγαγη εις ιν. Evang. St. Johannis, c. ii. vers. 52.

O THAT we may be enabled always to retain in our hearts a due remembrance of his abundant love in thus dying for us!

IN our whole lives may we shew forth our memory of such divine love! May we not decline to follow his blessed example, even in our deaths!

As he gave his blood and body for us, so may we also be ready to give ours for our fellow-creatures, if ever a true and rational charity should call us to such a sacrifice.

Freely we have received these things. Freely let us give them.

CHAP. V.

FIFTH DAY'S CONVERSATION.

THESE three worthy young men had always considered the time of their foreign travels, to be (if well managed) one of the most important parts of their education. Accordingly they never willingly had suffered any part of this precious time to be wasted either in idleness and dissipation, or in application of thought to frivolous and unimportant objects. The day-time was passed by them in the best methods for answering the noblest purposes of travelling; and several early hours in each morning were generally employed in the same kind of studies, which they would have been following, if still at *Oxford* or *Cambridg*

THIS had been more particularly the case since their arrival at *Rome*; and since *Crito* had proposed to them this course of lectures or conversations. In order to keep pace with him in these, they found it necessary to be very diligent in their private studies of the *Roman* history.

THOUGH

THOUGH it was late when they parted last night, yet they were met together very early this morning at their noble young friend's lodgings. They had just concluded the first decad of *Livy*; and were now refreshing their memories in the history of the following times by turning over some books of the Supplement of *Frensbemius*; when the eldest of the company asked *Crito's* pupil some questions relative to the *contemporary* state of affairs in *Greece*. Instead of answering the question, he pointed to a small cabinet of coins, which their young and noble fellow-student had lately purchased: and desired leave to look on those drawers, which contained the coins of the successors of *Alexander the Great*, whether in *Greece*, *Syria*, or *Egypt*.

THE drawers being laid on the table, the company listened with great pleasure; first to the noble proprietor of them, who spoke in a very sensible manner on the excellent taste and workmanship of several of these medals; and then to *Crito's* pupil, who made several modest and learned observations on that part of the *Grecian* history, to which this series of coins corresponded. He concludes by wishing that some proper person in either of the *English* universities would, for the sake of the youth of the place, add a third volume to *Stanyan's Grecian History*: beginning that third volume with
the

Chap. V. ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. 143

the accession of *Alexander* the Great to the throne of *Macedon*; and concluding it with the taking of *Alexandria* by *Augustus Cæsar*. Such a volume, he said that he had often heard his tutor observe, would be full of very great events; nor would it be unadorned with several excellent characters, both of the political and of the philosophic kind.

He was proceeding on this subject, when his attention was recalled to the *Roman* history by the following note, which was brought to him from his tutor.

“DEAR SIR,

“I trouble you with this note to desire the
“favour of you to make my proper excuses to our
“noble young friend for not waiting on him to
“breakfast, according to his obliging invitation.
“Happy am I; that though I shall not enjoy the
“pleasure of the company of my dear three friends
“this morning, yet I shall have the conscious satisfaction
“that I am employed among my books
“in their service.

“INCLOSED I take the liberty to send you a
“paper; the contents of which will be perhaps
“the more acceptable and agreeable to you, as I
“know you intend, after breakfast, to make a
“morning’s

"morning's visit to your *Italian* acquaintance at
"the *Palazzo Massimi* *."

THE inclosed paper was as follows.

QUINTUS FABIVS MAXIMVS RULLIANVS.

THE history of this great man may be perhaps considered by you, my dear fellow-students, as one of the best examples of a long life, diligently employed in great public business.

ACCORDINGLY I have drawn up this paper of his character, not in my usual manner, but rather
in

* The family of the *Marchesi Massimi* is one of those few families at present in *Rome*, who say that they can trace their illustrious pedigree back to the times of the old empire and still more old republic.

The *Massimi* claim to be descendants of no less a family, than that of the ancient *Fabii Maximi*: it is certain, that they can trace themselves back under this denomination as far as the tenth century, when, it is well known, they were a most powerful family in *Rome*. It is indeed almost beyond all doubt, that they are of ancient *Roman* blood. They are at present divided in two branches; the *Massimi of Ara Cæli*; and the *Massimi delle Colonne*. These denominations are taken from the places and ornaments of their houses in modern *Rome*; one being near the church of *Ara Cæli*; and the other being adorned with a circular portico supported by stately columns of the Doric order, the architecture of *Baldazzare Peruzzi*.

This last is the palace here spoken of; and the estate belonging to this branch of the family, is at present about 1500*l.* sterling per annum. The family of *Ara Cæli* is not so rich.

in the form of a chronological table. On the first sight of it, you will immediately observe; that from the time of his entering into a public character, as *curule ædile*, to the last time that we find him declared *princeps senatûs*; is a space of no less than *forty-nine* years. You will also see by it the several great posts, of which he was at different times possessed. Some few lines are added to these articles; expressing briefly some of the great actions which he performed in those illustrious stations. For he was truly great; not by the preferments which he got for himself; but by what he did for the public while possessed of them.

PERMIT me to add a wish for the sake of *England*; that those of you, my worthy friends, who shall choose a public life, may have that life lengthened to the same old age, which this father of the *Roman* parliament attained. But whatever may be the length of life; whatever the height and number of public honours, with which, for the sake of your country, you may be blessed; I have a strong and rational hope, that you will all die, much more full of virtues, than either of honour or of years.

Chronological Table of the Life of Q. FABIVS
MAXIMVS RVLIVANVS.*Anno ante Christum*

329. In this year *Fabius* was chosen *curule ædile*: in which office of magistrature he seems to have been remarkably active in the discovery, and consequently in the suppression of some unaccountable and very dreadful disorders; which then much disgraced the annals of this city.

323. In this year he was chosen *magister equitum* by *Papirius Cursor*.

You, my dear friends, are very well acquainted with the military history of that famous dictator; and I remember to have heard you observe in conversation, that this *Papirius* was, as it were, the King of *Prussia* of his times; in regard to his indefatigable perseverance in military labours, and in his remarkably strict discipline of his troops. These circumstances certainly confer great honour on the character of *Fabius* also; whom, though then a young man, this great commander chose thus as his first lieutenant-general.

It is observed by *Livy*, that *Papirius* carried his severity sometimes even to cruelty: till being made sensible by his own experience, that so very
rigid

rigid a government does not produce, on the whole, any good, even in military affairs; he was obliged to soften his temper, at least in appearance, and to mix with the severity of his government some acts of mildness and mercy. But before this change took place, he had been very near destroying the life even of a *Fabius*.

You know very well, how *Fabius*, in the absence of *Papirius*, observing a very advantageous opportunity of attacking the enemy, ventured to disobey the dictator's orders; and thus, for the sake of the public, hazarded his own head. For that this action was the effect, not so much of youthful ardour, as of real military conduct, appears, I think, manifestly by the greatness of the victory which he gained in consequence of it; and in which no less than twenty thousand of the *Samnites*, those formidable enemies of *Rome*, were cut off. You know also, how for this action *Fabius* was brought to the block by the severe dictator (a second *Torquatus*); and scarce saved from execution by the intreaties of the whole senate, people, and army of *Rome*. However, let me not, in favour of *Fabius*, misrepresent this affair. For if *Papirius* was too severe, it must be owned on the other side, that the action of young *Fabius* was not justifiable strictly speaking. *In bello certè & in pace oportet legitima semper pati imperia.*

Obedience is certainly one of the first and principal virtues of youth.

320. In this year, probably as a mark of public gratitude for his having exposed himself to such extreme dangers for the public service, *Fabius* was elected *consul*. The history of this year is full of confusion and uncertainty; but according to some authors quoted by *Livy*, *Fabius* gained in it a fresh victory, and triumphed over the *Samnites*. He is said in this campaign to have penetrated even into *Apulia*.

319. In this year of public misfortune and dishonour, he was appointed *interrex* with *M. Valerius*. In that office he named for consuls, that great general, *Publius Philo*; and also (what is very remarkable) *Papirius Cursor*; the very person by whom he had been himself three years before brought to the block.

313. He himself is named *dictator*: *Publius* and *Papirius Cursor* being the consuls under him. He gains a great victory over the *Samnites* near *Sora*.

308. CHOSEN *consul* the second time. Gains a great victory over the *Etruscans* near *Sutrium*: and penetrates through (the hitherto impassible boundary

boundary of the *Roman* power) the *Ciminian* forest, into the interior parts of *Tuscany*. In a second victory near *Perugia* he totally defeats the enemy; and obliges them to make a truce with *Rome* for thirty years ensuing. About this time he received the senate's orders to name a dictator to command against the *Samnites*. He names *Papirius Cursor*: *memoriam simultatum patrie remittens*.

307. ON account of his noble behaviour in *Tuscany*, *Fabius* is again elected *consul* the third time. He gains great victories over four nations; the *Samnites*, *Marfi*, *Umbri*, and *Peligni*; all in the space of this one year.

306. HE is named by the senate *proconsul* in *Samnium*; and gains another victory over that warlike nation.

O MY dear fellow-students, in this our present compilation of the most illustrious characters of antient *Rome*, I am obliged thus frequently to speak of their military heroisms. Military merit indeed is to the generality of readers the most striking and splendid part of the *Roman* history. The military virtues of the *Fabii*, *Papirii*, &c. are also, I must own, worthy objects of study; and will continue to be useful examples, as long as the world shall continue to deserve the heavy scourge

and curse of wars. Yet let me breathe a wish, that I was employed in a work more worthy of my happy profession, that I was conversing with you at present on another subject: I mean, on the long *PACIFIC* life, the venerable poverty, the holy old age, and almost christian death of the *contemporary* of *Fabius*, *Phocion*; *Phocion*, the second *Socrates* of *Athens*.

303. In this year we have the satisfaction to find *Fabius* in an office of *civil* magistrature; the *censorship*. In this office he was author of a new and very important regulation of the great legislative assemblies of the *Roman* people. What this regulation was, I really cannot tell; for *Livy's* account of it is very concise; and it is explained by *Mr. Hooke* in a very different manner from that in which it seems to have been understood by *Machiavel*, when writing his *Politici discorsi*. But however this may be, (for surely you cannot expect from a clergyman any explication of such difficult political questions) you will give me leave to observe with pleasure, that it was on this account that the title of *MAXIMUS* was given to *Fabius* and his family; on the descendants of which it still continues, though above two thousand years are since elapsed. This *HIGH* title was conferred on him, even by the warlike *Romans*, not for any of his numerous military heroisms, but for a work
of

of *peace*, and *political civil wisdom*. Let me also add, that *Fabius Rullianus* is celebrated in history for other works of *peace*; particularly for his care in preserving *plenty* in the city and country of *Rome*.

300. *Dictator* the second time. He has the happiness to quiet the insurrection of the *Marfi* by one battle only.

299. It is said by some authors, that the consulship was now again unanimously offered to him: but that he declined the offer; and in its stead accepted, with *Papirius Cursor*, the civil office of *curule ædile*. The reason given for this conduct does particular honour to his memory. For, this year being a year of peace, he thought he could do more good to the public in the curule than in the consular chair: and therefore preferred the choice of the inferior office.

297. *CHOSEN consul*. In this his fourth consulship, his activity in the service of his country still continued unabated: for, during the space of this year, he is said to have encamped in no less than eighty-six different places of the enemy's country; and his brother-consul *Decius* in forty-five. He gained also by his conduct a very hard-

fought battle. But of all the transactions relative to this his consulship, there seems none more worthy of your attention than the modesty and generosity with which he behaved, when it was unanimously offered him by the whole assembly of the people. I cannot pretend to describe it better, than by copying from *Livy* his short speech on that occasion. *Quid se jam senem at perfunctum laboribus laborumque præmiis sollicitarent? Nec corporis, nec animi vigorem remanere eundem; Et fortunam ipsam vereri, ne cui deorum nimia sit jam in se, Et constantior, quàm velint humanæ res, videatur. Et se gloriæ seniorum succrevisse; Et ad suam gloriam assurgentes alias Lætum adspicere: nec honores magnos fortissimis viris Romæ, nec honoribus deesse fortes viros.* Lib. x. c. 13.

296. In this year *Fabius* did not only decline the consulship with his usual modesty; (modesty, which exalts both public and private, both manly and youthful merit, in the same great proportion in which pride lowers and debases it) he even absolutely refused that honour. Notwithstanding the unanimity of the people in his election, and the ardent solicitations of the nobility in persuading him to accept it, he was firm, though decent, in his refusal: and this from a principle of true and wise patriotism. For he rightly judged, that thus

fo

so frequently to entrust the same high offices of the republic to the same persons, might form a precedent highly dangerous to the national liberty. The security of his country's freedom he sincerely preferred to his own exaltation; nor could his generous mind stoop to such low and mean ambition, as that in which during the times of *Roman* degeneracy a *Marius* or *Cæsar* prided themselves.

295. In this year, there being a general and great alarm, that the *Etruscans*, *Samnites*, and *Gauls* were uniting their forces, and marching together to the siege of *Rome*; the consulship was ardently and unanimously offered to *Fabius*; and by him, notwithstanding his great age, willingly, though modestly, accepted. In this time of general terror, he took the field with the greatest ardour; and turned that terror into the enemies country, into the inmost parts of which he penetrated.

It was during the campaigns of this his *fifth* consulship, that his beloved colleague, *P. Decius*, devoted himself for his country; as was observed in our conversation last night.

O my dear friends, with what pleasure have I observed, while in *England*, the noble rapture which shone in your eyes, while attending to the solemn

fought battle. But of all the transactions relative to this his consulship, there seems none more worthy of your attention than the modesty and generosity with which he behaved, when it was unanimously offered him by the whole assembly of the people. I cannot pretend to describe it better, than by copying from *Livy* his short speech on that occasion. *Quid se jam senem ac perfunctum laboribus laborumque præmiis sollicitarent? Nec corporis, nec animi vigorem remanere eundem; Et fortunam ipsam vereri, ne cui deorum nimia sit jam in se, Et constantior, quàm velint humanæ res, videatur. Et se gloriæ seniorum succrevisse; Et ad suam gloriam assurgentes alias Lætum adspicere: nec honores magnos fortissimis viris Romæ, nec honoribus deesse fortes viros.* Lib. x. c. 13.

296. In this year *Fabius* did not only decline the consulship with his usual modesty; (modesty, which exalts both public and private, both manly and youthful merit, in the same great proportion in which pride lowers and debases it) he even absolutely refused that honour. Notwithstanding the unanimity of the people in his election, and the ardent sollicitations of the nobility in persuading him to accept it, he was firm, though decent, in his refusal: and this from a principle of true and wise patriotism. For he rightly judged, that thus

so frequently to entrust the same high offices of the republic to the same persons, might form a precedent highly dangerous to the national liberty. The security of his country's freedom he sincerely preferred to his own exaltation; nor could his generous mind stoop to such low and mean ambition, as that in which during the times of *Roman* degeneracy a *Marius* or *Cæsar* prided themselves.

295. IN this year, there being a general and great alarm, that the *Etruscans*, *Samnites*, and *Gauls* were uniting their forces, and marching together to the siege of *Rome*; the consulship was ardently and unanimously offered to *Fabius*; and by him, notwithstanding his great age, willingly, though modestly, accepted. In this time of general terror, he took the field with the greatest ardour; and turned that terror into the enemies country, into the inmost parts of which he penetrated.

It was during the campaigns of this his fifth consulship, that his beloved colleague, *P. Decius*, devoted himself for his country; as was observed in our conversation last night.

O my dear friends, with what pleasure have I observed, while in *England*, the noble rapture which shone in your eyes, while attending to the solemn

solemn funeral song on some of the heroes of *Israel* in some of *Handel's* Oratorios? I forget, whether it is in his *Sampson*, or in his *Maccabeus*.

Bring the laurel: bring the bays:

Strew the herse: and strew the ways, &c.

With the same noble rapture you can (I am sure) now form in your imaginations the solemn scene of *Decius's* funeral; and highly applaud the friendly and generous behaviour of *Fabius* on that occasion. *Intermissâ omnium aliarum rerum curâ, Fabius collegæ funus cum omni honore laudibusque meritis celebrat, non sine multis militum lacrymis.*

293. IN this year, *Fabius* rose to the high rank and dignity of *princeps senatûs Romani*.

292 *Fabius Gurgès*, the brave and worthy son of *Fabius Rullianus*, was now chosen *consul*. Whatever pleasure his father might receive on this occasion, yet being apprehensive of the natural inexperience of youth, he wished (for the sake of his son as well as his country) that this election had been delayed for some few years. His apprehensions were too much justified by the event: Young *Fabius* was routed in *Samnium*; and would probably have sunk under the public contempt in *Rome*, if he had not been saved and supported by the timely assistance of this good and wise father.

Scarce

Scarce ever was there beheld a more amiable scene of paternal love. To recover his son's credit, this prince of the senate forgot all his own high dignity. He condescended to serve even as lieutenant during the rest of the campaign. In that post he privately directed his son in all his military preparations, marches, and encampments; all of which now appeared regulated with the most exact care and accurate discipline. Even in the field of battle, notwithstanding his great age, he appeared in arms, like another *Priam**: but with better success. For, by his bravery, he had there the happiness of personally saving the life of his beloved son; and, by his conduct, of gaining a *very glorious victory* for him: for on him he studiously contrived to turn all the merit and all the praise.

291. *Fabius* has the happiness to see his son, now proconsul in *Samnium*, behave in a dispute with the consul of the year, *L. Posthumius*, with all proper spirit, wisdom, and moderation. He afterwards has the pleasure to see him enter *Rome* in triumph on account of the last year's victory; and to follow him, *as his attendant and lieutenant*, in that solemn procession to the temples on the *Capitoline hill*.

O MY dear friends, there is not, I believe, any wish, which your youthful hearts breathe with
more

* Vid. *Æneid.* ii.

more ardour, than that before the grey heirs of your dear parents descend into the grave, you may be able to gladden their eyes with the sight of some public honours acquired by your merit. But how uncertain are all *public* honours! Your own merits, the assistance of your parents, may be all ineffectual in the attainment of them. Providence itself perhaps, in kindness to you, may disappoint all such pursuits. Give me leave then to add my wishes, that the views of all this company may be principally directed to another more certain and really far more noble object. My dear pupil will explain to you what I mean: *viz.* the daily triumphs of beneficence: (which attend *his* life, employed as it is in an uninterrupted series of works of charity: actions which must convey the *highest* pleasure to *good* and wise parents) the heartfelt honours of a virtuous conscience; of which his heavenly Father is the continual giver to him.

[CRITO's pupil, on casting his eyes over the preceding paragraph, started at its unexpected contents: but he recovered himself immediately; and then, in reading it to his two young friends, so altered the turn of its expressions, as entirely to omit the compliment to himself, and yet retain all the good advice of his tutor. He then *hastened* to the perusal of the following article.]

289. IN the census of this year, *Fabius* is again declared *princeps senatûs*. In relation to that high dignity, it is remarkable that it continued uninterruptedly for three generations in the *Fabian* family: both the father and son of *Fabius Maximus Rullianus* having been invested with it.

286. *Dictator*, the third time. In this office he had the happiness to complete an accommodation and reconciliation between the two great and contending parties of this nation: the same kind of happiness, as that, which crowned the conclusion of the long and glorious life of *Camillus*.

280. *Fabius* is again declared *princeps senatûs*: his son being now censor; and his friend's son, *P. Decius Tertius*, being consul. About this time *Cineas*, the embassador of king *Pyrrhus*, came to Rome. The Roman senate, upon whom that Grecian orator looked as an assembly of kings, must surely have appeared still more majestic in his sight, on account of the venerable character of this its prince, the *Roman Nestor*.

Τῷ δ' ἤδη δύο μὲν γενεαὶ μεροπῶν ἀνδρῶπων
 ΕΦΘΙΑΔ', οἱ γ' αὐτῷ ἀμαδ' ἐτραφεδ' ἡδ' ἐγενοντο
 Εὐ Πύλῳ ἠγάθη, μετὰ δὲ τριτατοῖσιν ἀνάσσειν.

AFTER

AFTER the perusal of this paper, the young gentlemen dressed themselves; and went out to make their visit at the *Palazzo Massimi*. With the sight of the busts, statues, consular fasces, *Etruscan* urns, and other antique curiosities in that palace, they were highly entertained. They were shewn also the apartment called *di Pirro*: in which, till lately, stood that noble colossal statue of king *Pyrrhus*; which is now placed fronting the stairs leading up to the *Museum* in the *Capitol*.



IN the afternoon, *Crito's* pupil having proposed to make an excursion into the country for two or three days towards *Tivoli* and *Palæstrina*; it was with the greatest willingness, that the company met at the venerable remains of the *Porta Collatina*. From thence they took the road to *Tivoli*. During the first eight or ten miles of this journey, their discourse turned on various subjects, and was enlivened with much youthful chearfulness. The conversation however at length began to flag, when the youngest of the company looking out of the coach-window, observed that *Italy* in all respects seemed to be calculated for the principal school of painting: its cities being filled with the works of the most eminent painters and sculptors;

Chap. V. ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. 159

sculptors; and its country with the most noble scenes for landscapes

THE campania of *Rome* was then indeed in its highest splendor: its grass and corn being both still green; and the *Sabine* mountains, which magnificently terminate it, still in many parts white with snow.

PLEASING and grand as this prospect is, (replied *Crito's* pupil with half a sigh) how inferior is it to our own dear country? In this wide and naturally most fertile plain, where is there to be seen any thing like one of our beautiful plantations, like one of our neat cottages? The natural beauty too of the grass will be soon destroyed by the summer's heats; and the whole compania rendered uninhabitable by the *pestilential* air attending them. Great reason surely have we all to think ourselves *happy* in our healthy, populous, ever verdant,

Και Μακάριον υμῶν, ην Ωκεανίδες

Αυραὶ περιπνευσίιν.

BUT particularly happy is the country-gentleman of *England*, who every year sees some new plantation rise on his lands; and (what is much more important) sees continually all around him his country.

country-neighbours comfortably clothed; lodged; and fed; made happy by (those two chief instruments of a national benevolent providence) the public liberty, and commerce of their country; and in the next degree, by their own industry, and the goodness of their landlord:

*His father's acres who enjoys in peace,
Or makes his neighbours glad, if he encrease;
Whose chearful tenants bless their early toil,
Yet to their Lord owe more than to their soil;
Whose rising forests, not for pride or show,
For future buildings, future navies grow;
May his plantations stretch from down to down,
First shade a county, and then rise a town!*

MAY this great happiness (replied *Crito* with a smile of the most benevolent charity) in its highest and noblest degree always attend you, my dear pupil! and, in imitation of you, may I also, in that pleasant country-parish, the living of which your kind father has lately most generously bestowed on me, be always so happy as to have some little works of *planting*, *study*, and *charity* continually on my hands!—But yet let us not undervalue the country, in which we are at present. These very plains, though wanting houses and trees, yet otherwise how beautiful are they? How pleasingly is the *Roman* campagna in many parts varied

Chap. V. ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. 161

varied with hillocks and dales; and how great a quantity of corn does it even now produce; especially on its sea-coast, which we lately visited, near *Corneto* and *Civita Vecchia*? Happy, happy indeed, would this country be, if (to speak in your poetic style) the goddess of *Health* could shed her gracious influence over it; either from the place of her ruined temple near the *Colline* gate: or from that small lake and its floating islands, by which we are now passing; and which, you know, were antiently dedicated to her.

If I am not mistaken, said the eldest of the young gentlemen, it was about that period of time, to which you have now kindly led us in your lectures, that *Æsculapius* himself is said to have been brought to *Rome* on the very account which you mention. I have lately been looking over, at our noble friend's lodgings, several antique coins, that seem to have reference to his voyage from *Epidaurus* hither; as well as several beautiful drawings of the temples, &c. on his *Insula Tiberina*; while in its full magnificence and splendor. But let me not talk of those pleasing and amusing subjects at present. I should be very glad to hear your opinion of the real nature of that pestilential air, *cattiva aria*; which is so great an obstacle to the modern patriots of *Rome* in their projects for repeopling this country.

VOL. I.

O

WHAT

WHAT I have heard on that subject in conversation with some naturalists, replied *Crito*, is, that during the autumnal months, the low lands along the coast of *Italy*, from *Naples* almost to *Genoa*, are extremely unwholesome. The low lands on each side of our river *Thames* are, you know, the same at that time of the year. But the air of the *Italian* marshes is full of a much more malign, and even deadly, poison; in proportion probably to the greater quantity of damp vapours exhaled here by the more violent heat of the sun.

BUT besides these damps, there are other very poisonous vapours which rise during autumn in several places of *Italy*, from the burnt minerals of its strange soil. You have heard of the dreadful effects of the *Mofete* near *Naples*: *sævamque exhalat opaca Mephitim*. Something similar perhaps may be the case in the plains round *Rome*: many parts of which, though neither low nor wet, are yet very pestilential. But look on the hills round you in this prospect. They are all full of the remains of extinguished volcanoes; which probably raged, before the flood, with greater fury than *Ætna* or *Vesuvius* at present. Naturalists also tell us, that most part of the soil of these extensive *Roman* plains, which lie at their feet, has passed through the operation of the fire.

BUT

Chap. V. ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. 163

BUT however all this may be, it is certainly an error to think, that the bad air of this country is totally a *modern* complaint. We find the antient historians continually speaking of plagues and sicknesses at *Rome*. Some of them call its climate *cælum grave*: and I remember, that *Livy* puts in the mouth of a *Roman* who lived 340 years before the birth of our Saviour, exactly the very same complaint of this *Campagna di Roma*, which one of its modern inhabitants would make: *Luclamur in pestilenti & arido circà urbem solo* *.

It seems difficult (continued *Crito* after some short pause) to conceive how such a country should first become inhabited. When once filled with inhabitants, it is no wonder that they should be able to subsist: for the draining of marshes (as has been lately done near *Leghorn* by that benevolent patriot Marquis *Ginori*) the cultivation of fields, the cutting down the woods, the fires in the towns, and even the breath of animals (when not too closely crowded together) will greatly mend the air. This was probably the case in those ages, when these *Latian* plains were filled with many little nations; and afterwards when the loss of those nations was supplied by a vast metropolis, and its extensive suburbs.

O 2

EVEN

* Vid. lib. vii. c. 38.

EVEN after the removal of the seat of the empire from *Rome* to *Constantinople*, the *Campagna di Roma* continued tolerably cultivated and inhabited; till about the middle of the eighth century; when it was laid desolate by the incursions of the *Lombards* and *Saracens*. From that period, its cultivation greatly ceased, the air grew continually worse and worse, and the number of its inhabitants less and less.

DURING the residence of the popes at *Avignon*, *Rome* was at its lowest ebb: it had then no more than sixteen thousand inhabitants. Since the return of the popes, it has been gradually recovering itself. By this last years account, the number of its inhabitants is more than one hundred and thirty thousand. The country also, as well as the city, has probably somewhat recovered itself; tho' not in proportion.

BUT let us, if you please, turn our thoughts to the times of antient *Rome*. For, whatever is the occasion of the present desolation of this *Campagna*, it is certain that in antient times it was full of many villages and towns. In the early ages of the *Roman* republic, every little spot of these vast plains had its particular owner, who lived on its produce, and consequently was obliged to cultivate it with the greatest industry. How different
from

Chap V. ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. 165

from the present solitary scene! It was then full of a numerous people; skilful in agriculture, that most useful of the arts of peace: and proper for undergoing the greatest discipline, danger, and labour of war.

Aut rastris terram domat, aut quatit oppida bello.

Their continued culture of these plains produced among them a national simplicity of life and frugality; and consequently a sure though moderate support for each family. The further consequences of this rural industry were still more noble: firmness of mind; liberty; independence; superiority to corruption; contempt of dishonourable or unjust wealth; a sense of generosity; of justice: and of religious gratitude to the givers of the several fruitful seasons of the year.

— *Patiens operum, parvoque assueta Juventus;
Sacra Deum, sanctique patres: extrema per illos
Justitia excedens terris vestigia fecit.*

* * *

THIS quotation from *Virgil*, together with what *Crito* had been observing just before, seemed greatly to affect his good pupil. He sat for some time in silence, and then turned his eyes with respect and love on his tutor. To a person (said he)

who is to be so happy as to pass his life at home in the country, what an advantage is it to have surveyed in his youth the *instructive* scene of this *agri Romani*? These very fields perhaps have seen

———— *parvoque potentem*

Fabricium, & te *fulco*, Serrane*, *serentem*.

Some part of this *Campagna* certainly

———— *duros Curiorum est passa ligones.*

I do not know, said *Crito*, looking out of the coach-window to the right, whether in this prospect you can distinguish a round hill, which stands close under those lofty mountains of *Tusculum*. That hill is called *Monte Porzio*, and the neighbouring fields *Prati Porzi*. In our return from *Palaestrina* to *Rome* by way of *Frescati*, we shall go close by it: and I shall then take the liberty to put into your hands a short paper of some few lines which I copied this morning from *Plutarch*. You will have great pleasure in reading it there, especially as you will recollect that *Monte Porzio* and the *Prata Porzi* were the *Sabine* farm of the *Cato* family; and that the *Sabine Villa* of *Curius*, if his
cottage

* *Atilius Severanus*, consul for the first time in the year before our Lord's nativity 267. He was contemporary to *Fabricius* and *Curius*, and nearly related to *Marcus Atilius Regulus*. See also *Valerius Maximus*, lib. iv. c. 4.

Chap. V. ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. 167

cottage deserves that name; stood in that neighbourhood*.

IF I am not mistaken, said the youngest of the company after some short pause for recollection, I lately found, in turning over some books of *Roman* antiquities, an account of an aqueduct which was built by that public-spirited hero, *Curius*, while censor: the expences of it being paid out 272. of the profits which he made in his campaigns against king *Pyrrhus*, and of which he reserved no part for himself. As that aqueduct came to *Rome* from the river *Anio*, beginning at a place two or three miles above *Tivoli*, it must probably have been carried along the side of this very road. I wish we could distinguish any of its ruins.

I AM sure, I wish I could give you any information in that point, replied *Crito*: but I am afraid, that we must not *often* expect to find either in *Rome*, or in its neighbourhood, any considerable and certain remains of buildings erected so early

O 4

as

Τὸν ἀγῶνα Κατῶν πῶλῃσιον ἢ ἡ γενομένη Κυρίῳ ἐπαυλὶς. Ἐπὶ ταύτῃ συνεχῶς βαδίζων ὁ Κατῶν, καὶ θεωρεῖν τετε χωρίῳ τῆς μικροτήτα, καὶ τῆς οἰκησεως τοῦ λίτου ἐνοίαν ἱλαμβανὶ τῆς Ἀνδρῶν, ὅτι Ρωμαίων μεγίστῳ γενομένη (τὸν πᾶσα Ἰταλίαν δὴ τότε συστρεφάντων) τὴν το χωρίδιον αὐτῶν ἐσκαπτῆ, καὶ ταύτην τῇ ἐπαυλὶν ὡς μετὰ τρεῖς θριαμβεύς. *Plutarch's Life of Cato the Censor.*

as the *republican* times. To supply this defect, we must (while engaged in the study of this part of the *Roman* history) generally content ourselves with the landskip of the country, with the view of these hills and mountains, plains and valleys, rocks and rivers, which are often mentioned in the history of those times, and which remain unchangeable and eternal monuments of it.

WHILE the company was engaged in this conversation, the coach stopt at that bridge over the *Anio*, which is twelve miles distant from *Rome*, and three from *Tivoli*. It is called *Ponte Lucano*; according to the opinion of *Eschinardi*, because it was first built about the time that the *Romans* conquered *Lucania*; that is the times of *Curius*. But it seems to have been rebuilt in the *imperial* ages; and most probably by that *Plautius*, governor of *Illyria*, whose massy sepulchral tower is still standing at one end of it: and who perhaps is the same *Plautius* that accompanied *Claudius Cæsar* in his expedition into *Britain*.

AFTER having passed some time in reading part of the long inscriptions still remaining on some marble tablets erected before that mausolæum, the company sat down on the parapet wall of the bridge; and, while the horses were watering, resumed their former conversation.

THERE

THERE is not perhaps (said *Crito*, opening a paper on which there were some notes for the refreshment of his memory) in all the long history of *Rome*, any think more striking, or instructive, than the nobleness of mind, which the antient heroes of this nation shewed in despising wealth and its attendants, avarice or luxury. The principal example of this kind of *Roman* virtue is generally and justly supposed to be that of *Curius*.

C U R I U S.

CURIUS had the glory to conquer *Pyrrhus*; that brave descendant of *Achilles*; that most warlike of all the royal successors of *Alexander* the Great; that type of *Hannibal*.

CURIUS expelled him out of *Italy*, and reduced the whole of this large, rich, and beautiful part of *Europe* to the *Roman* dominion. For the *Roman* dominion was then extended from the most northern parts of *Tuscany* to the most southern point of the kingdom of *Naples*: which two points were the boundaries of antient *Italy*. Yet this very same *Curius*; when the *Roman* senate; in dividing some of the conquered lands, allotted fourteen acres to each of his soldiers, and (on account of his rank and merit) fifty to himself; declined that

that offer : saying, that it was unworthy of a true patriot not to be fully satisfied with the same proportion of property, which made so many thousands of his countrymen contented and happy*.

O MY dear fellow-travellers, towards the end of this week we shall probably have the pleasure of passing a day or two at *Præneste*†. While we shall be surveying the antiquities of that city, will it not furnish fresh matter for some amusing reflections, if we recollect, that it was to *that* place
280. that *Pyrrhus* advanced in his expedition against *Rome*, and from *that* hill viewed these plains of *Latium*? Great part of our time will be employed in walking about the extensive ruins of the famous temple of *Fortune*. May we not then please ourselves with the imagination, that *Pyrrhus* possibly might on that spot have had some short conversation with his friend *Cyneas*, on the various events of his own life, and on the surprising character and manners of the *Roman* nation at that time?

How gloriously indeed must these have shone in the eyes of *Pyrrhus*; especially if compared by him

* Vide *Plinii*, lib. xviii. c. 4.—15.

† *Præneste*, or (according to its antient name) *Palæstrina*, is about nine miles to the southward of *Tivoli*.

him to the idleness, luxury, and base corruption of the *Tarentines*? How awful must the temperance and other virtues of a *Curius* or *Fabricius* have appeared to him; especially if contrasted with the character of a *Demetrius*, and of those other dissolute princes, with whom, in his former years, he had been acquainted in the eastern courts?

WHAT also must have been the meditations of *Cyneas* on the same subject? In *Italy* he had probably conversed with many learned men of the *Italic* or *Pythagorean* sect: in *Greece*, and particularly at *Athens*, he must have known many philosophers, whether of the academic, peripatetic, or perhaps of the *Stoic* school. For, if I am not mistaken, he was the disciple of *Demosthenes*, and about contemporary with *Theophrastus* and *Zeno*. Among these numerous philosophers he must have seen several by their profligacy and idleness disgracing their learned and venerable profession; several also sincerely passing a long life in studious industry, in strict self government, in continual abstinence and voluntary poverty. But what must have been his thoughts, in having found the illiterate city of *Rome* at least as virtuous as the learned *Athens*; in having seen a *Curius* and *Fabricius* practising the most austere virtues, though not knowing perhaps what was meant by the word ‘philosophy?’

WHAT

WHAT is to be said on this subject? In general indeed, virtue (as a *Cebes* might express it) joyfully looks down from her exalted throne on all the sciences, as being her natural allies, or rather her native subjects. But, thanks to God, her everlasting dominion is independent of their support; her universal sceptre is graciously stretched forth over vast tracts of the globe, where they cannot boast of having been of any service to her. Pardon me, my indulgent fellow-students, for this rapture. But indeed how often have we read, in books of travels into the most savage countries, instances of virtue which would not dishonour *Europe*? How often have we observed in some of our *English* villages a thatched cottage, inhabited by such piety, devotion, contentment, industry, and temperance, as would highly become the most eminent seats of learning? I am sure indeed, that I have the greatest reason to expect and hope, that in the country-parish, the rectory of which has been lately most bountifully bestowed on me by my good pupil's good father, I shall find in the families of the poorest day-labourers many and many persons of both sexes infinitely better deserving the glorious name of Christian than myself.

275. But let us return to our classical studies. The triumph of *Curius*, after his victories over *Pyrrhus* and the luxurious *Tarentines*, presented a spectacle far

far more rich and pompous, than what *Rome* had ever before seen. For, as *Frensbemius* observes from *Florus*, in former triumphs the captives were subjects only of some neighbouring *Italian* states; the spoils consisted only of the plunder of their plain instruments of agriculture or war, and in numerous droves of their cattle or horses. But before *Curius's* triumphal chariot appeared four elephants laden with their towers: a sight as new, but far more astonishing, than the *Spanish* horses were at *Tlascalla*, or at *Mexico* in the times of the brave *Guatimozin*. The elephants were followed by the foreign captives, the invaders of *Italy*.

—*Incedunt viſtæ longo ordine gentes*

Quàm variæ linguis, habitu tam veſtis & armis;

Epirots, and *Thessalians*; *Greeks*, and *Macedonians*: *Macedonians*, whose kings had lately carried their victorious arms even to the *Indies*, but whose country had ever since been the scene of anarchy, and misery. Their defeat by *Curius* was a fresh humiliation. As to the spoils, they consisted, not only of those really noble treasures, I mean the works of the *Grecian* artists in sculpture and painting; but of those kinds of riches also, which would most readily captivate and corrupt the roughest and poorest minds. Heaps of silver and gold; and all the ornaments of luxury; *luxury*, which
then

then for the first time made her entrance into the walls of *Rome*.

*Sacra canunt, funemque manu contingere gaudent.
Illa subit, mediæque minans illabitur urbi.
O patria!*

You, dear sir, (in saying this, *Crito* respectfully turned to the youngest and noblest of the company) from a charitable motive, were lately proposing to employ one of your countrymen, a student of painting now at *Rome*, in drawing for you a picture of one of the antient *Roman* triumphs. Why should not you fix on this triumph of *Curius* for the subject? According to *Florus*, *non temere ullus pulchrior in urbem, aut speciosior triumphus intravit*. Besides, it will give your good heart an opportunity to double your intended benefaction to your poor countryman; by employing him to draw a second picture for you, as a companion and contrast to this first. I mean a painting, representing *Curius*, when, immediately after all this triumphal splendor, he retired with contentment and joy to his former cottage.

*Hæc limina vider
Alcides subit; hæc illum regia cepit.*

How much did you use to admire, while in *England*, a picture on that subject by *Pietro di Cortona*,
which

which is in the collection of one of the most worthy noblemen of our country? from your memory of its composition, as well as from your own judicious imagination, you can easily give proper instructions to the painter here at *Rome* as to his representation of the cottage of *Curius*; its humble furniture; the happy family-table with its earthen dish of turnips; and this *Roman* hero pointing to it with one hand and with the other rejecting all the rich and splendid bribes of the *Samnites*.

I AM much obliged to you, replied the noble youth, for these kind hints: and on my return to *Rome*, will immediately beg my friend to begin both these pictures. But in designing their composition, he will be very desirous, I know, to be assisted by your learning, and by the benevolent ideas of your good mind.

AFTER we had given due attention this morning to that paper on the character of *Fabius Rulianus*, with which you so kindly favoured us; I took up (while I was dressing) one of the volumes of *Rollin's Roman History**; and read with pleasure the account of the nomination of *Fabius Gurges*, as successor to his truly noble father, in the high station of *princeps senatus Romani*. This

account

* Vide lib. x. sect. 5.

account gives me now fresh pleasure, when I reflect that this nomination was made by your present hero, *Curius*, then censor.

ROLLIN seems to dwell with particular delight on that noble action of *Fabius Gurgès*, which probably was the immediate reason, that influenced *Curius* to confer on him so high an honour. I mean his truly noble behaviour, while abroad. For at the court* of the greatest foreign prince of that time, *Fabius Gurgès*, with his three colleagues of the embassy, supported the dignity of their families and country in the noblest manner. *Suâ virtute mores Romanos externis quoque nationibus venerabiles reddidit.*—No bad hint surely for us modern travellers. For, though we are not public ministers, yet we are all, while abroad, in some degree representatives of our country.

THE conversation was here interrupted, first, by a servant of the adjoining inn, who brought to one of the company a glass of *Sabine* wine and water; and then by a fisherman, who came on the bridge with his angling rod. *Crito's* pupil entered into some conversation with the fisherman relative to the plenty of fish, and other qualities of

* At the court of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, the great king of *Alexandria*. See his character in *Rollin's Ancient History*, book xvi. article 2. sect. 9.

of that small stream; and then after some pause, turning to the eldest of his young friends, O my dear friend, said he, how does the history of *Rome* in these early ages recall to our memory (while thus seated on the solitary banks of the *Anio*) the description of the antient manners of *Swisserland*; on which I often had the pleasure to hear you talk, while at *Geneva* or *Lausanne*, on the banks of some of the rapid and green, though clear, streams of those *Alpine* regions? Of those manners we saw some traces still remaining in the *Upper-Valais*, the most romantic country of the *Grisons*?

I remember indeed, with great pleasure, replied his worthy friend, that during our classical studies at *Geneva*, you used frequently to consider the thirteen *Swiss* cantons as a faint shadow of antient *Greece*. The city of *Geneva* you used in your fancy to compare to that of *Athens*: *Berne* to *Lacedæmon*: *Zurich* to *Thebes*: the passages among the rocks near *Morgarten*, where the *Swiss* defeated the *Austrian* army, to the straits of *Thermopylæ* *.

THE powerful canton of *Berne* may perhaps also bear some resemblance to the republic of *Rome*: I mean in the time of *Publicola*, *Menenius*, and *Cincinnatus*, while its territory was confined

VOL. I.

P

within

* Vid. *Stanyan's Account of Swisserland*.

within the limits of these plains and these hills. Yet how much more opulent are the magistrates of the least *Swiss* canton, than those consuls and dictators of *Rome*, or than the most famous magistrates of *Greece*, *Aristides*, *Epaminondas*, and *Phocion*?

How much *more* surprizing does the scene become in the times of *Curius*? At that time, as your tutor has just informed us, *Rome* was mistress of the whole dutchy of *Tuscany*, the whole ecclesiastical state, the whole kingdom of *Naples*: yet the private properties of its chief senators *even then* amounted to scarce twenty acres of land with a little cottage; which cottage was their only house; which parcel of land they cultivated with their own hands.

EVEN so late, as in the second *Punic* war, the estate of one of the principal persons in the *Roman* nation (I mean *Fabius Maximus*) consisted of no more than nine acres. Even in still later years, the whole noble family of the *Ælii** (from which family, I believe, *Marcus Aurelius* descended) were all supported on one farm; and all lived in one farm-house; though they were not less in number than sixteen, besides their numerous offspring and their wives; one of whom was the daughter of
Paulus

* Vid. *Plutarch's* Life of *Paulus Æmilius*.

Paulus Æmilius, and was very nearly allied to the families of *Fabius Maximus*, of *Scipio*, and of *Cato* the censor.

*Privatus illis census erat brevis ;
Commune magnum.*

THESE strange facts are scarcely either comprehensible or credible to a modern reader.

IN the history of the whole world there is not perhaps any thing parallel to them : except perhaps in the annals of some oriental countries. I remember indeed reading, while at *Cambridge*, something similar to it in *Ockley's* history of the *Saracens*. According to that writer, *Abubeker*, *Omar*, *Abudak*, and other *Arabian* chiefs, lived as poorly as *Curius*, or *Fabricius* *.

P 2

BUT

* The calif *Abubeker* was sovereign of all *Arabia Felix*, as well as of a very considerable part of *Syria* and *Babylonia*. Though a Musulman, he is said to have lived in great temperance : and, at his death, his whole inventory was valued at no more than five pieces of gold.—His successor, the calif *Omar*, possessed the same dominions, with the addition of several other large and rich territories ; particularly the whole kingdom of *Egypt*, and the greatest part of *Persia* ; yet his diet was nothing but barley-bread, and his palace a cottage of mud.—*Abu Obeidab* was general of the victorious armies of both these califs. He also was remarkable for his abstinence and voluntary poverty ; and is, on account of these and several other moral virtues, to be justly esteemed one of the most illustrious characters of the Mahometan world. — How many luxurious and covetous Christians ought to blush at reading such characters ?

BUT we are not so much to wonder at the voluntary poverty of these *Arabian* conquerors ; when we consider that in them it was founded on a religious principle ; whereas in these *Roman* heroes it rested on that of patriotism ; a far weaker and narrower basis.

BUT yet let me not, at least in this country, too much depreciate the strength of patriotism. For if you, my dear friend, (in saying this he turned to *Crito's* pupil) could just now, from your *love of agriculture*, think with such pleasure of the antient most diligent cultivation of this country, surely a young *politician* also might receive considerable advantage and instruction from some *patriotic* reflections on this same scene.

WHERE indeed were there ever more noble examples of patriots, not tainted with any views of superfluously enriching themselves at the public expence ; not foolishly ashamed of their small fortunes ; not chilled by cowardly apprehensions of poverty ; but contentedly embracing an humble, frugal, and industrious course of life ; in a word, such a station, as has been really beloved by many of the noblest sons of wisdom and virtue, though the blind multitudes, led by pride and avarice, may outwardly pretend to despise it ?

SURELY

Chap. V. ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. 181

SURELY, in this light we ought all to revere this *Ager Romanus*. Visiting it with this idea, we ought to recollect with the greatest pleasure the speech of *Evander* to *Aeneas*; when accompanied *cum omnibus juvenum primis, & paupere senatu*, he first shewed to that pious hero this very country :

*Aude, hospes, contemnere opes : & te quoque dignum
Finge Deo ; rebusque veni non asper egenis.*

But let me not any longer interrupt your good tutor in this evening's lecture ; nor be impertinently talking so much myself, while I ought to be silently attending to his instructions.

I HAVE been listening to you all with great pleasure, replied *Crito*. Permit me to add my wishes, that you never may forget such worthy sentiments, as now flow from your good hearts.— May the opulence of your fortunes be always accompanied and crowned with the same contentment and integrity, the same spirit of industry, beneficence, fortitude, and love of your country, which you are now admiring in the histories of these antient heroes.

O MY dear and noble friends, in comparison of such an exalted character of mind, how mean do the rich and great of modern times appear ? Those, who possessed of a property much more than an

hundred times larger than the estate of a *Curius*, or *Fabricius*; yet by sloth and foolish extravagance render themselves entirely useless and contemptible in the world; and so indigent and avaritious as to stoop for fear of want to every thing that is base or dishonourable. There is indeed no property so large, as to secure such owners from corruption; nor, on the other hand, is there in any age or country, any station of life so poor, in which industry and œconomy will not obtain a power of being honest, content, and even beneficent.



THE coachman now remounted his box, and the company resumed their seats in the coach. During their slow ascent of the long hill, which leads from the *Ponte Lucano* up to the town of *Tivoli*, the conversation wandered, as usual, on several different topics, not without great intermixture of innocent mirth and pleasantry.

ON the right hand of the road, at a small distance from *Tivoli*, there is an antique temple; hid in great measure from the public view by a garden-wall, and some trees which shade it. Here the company alighted. They sent the coach on to the inn in the town; intending to walk thither themselves, as soon as they had sufficiently viewed
this

I. Chap. V. ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. 183

this ruin. The youngest of the company examined it with particular attention, and made several conjectures in relation to its original plan. He then turned round to *Crito's* pupil, and asked him, if he knew to which of the Heathen gods it was dedicated.

ACCORDING to the opinions of some antiquarians, he replied, it was dedicated to the *Dea Tuffis*; and was probably built by some rich Roman invalid, in gratitude for his having in this fine air of *Tivoli* recovered his health, which had been greatly injured by living in the unwholesome atmosphere of the *Roman Campagna*. It was frequented probably by multitudes of poor persons, who fled to these hills for relief on the same account.

I expected a very different account of it, said the eldest of his young friends: and indeed on my first sight of it, could not help fancying and wishing, that it might have been erected by the antient *Tiburtines* to the honour of *Juno Argiva*; or perhaps be a *cenotaph* and *μνημειον* of *Amphiaraus**. If this last fancy had had any thing

P 4

real

* The city of *Tivoli* was founded by *Catillus* and *Coras*, the sons of *Amphiaraus*: who brought hither a colony from *Argos*.

*Tum gemini fratres Tiburtia mœnia linquunt,
Catillusque, acerque Coras; Argiva juventus. Æneid. l. 7.
Circà mite solum Ti'uris, & mœnia Catili.* Hor.

real in it, with what pleasure should we have surveyed these ruins ? With what rapture would you have repeated to us from the *Greek* tragedians the glorious character of that just, brave, and religious hero?

INSTEAD of doing that, replied *Crito's* pupil, I believe it may be as well, if I desire my tutor to read to us in this place his notes relative to the character of the brave, religious, and just *Fabricius*. Let us seat ourselves on some of the scattered fragments of these ruins, and attend to it. If this temple really were the *μναστεριον* of *Amphiarus**, we might now suppose his venerable shade listening with pleasure to the description of such a character.

IN this character, said *Crito*, I shall be very concise, merely to avoid tautology ; for the virtues of *Fabricius* seem to be exactly of the same kind with those of *Curius*. Their noble hearts were formed in a strong fraternal similitude : probably also they had the great happiness to be united together in a virtuous, and consequently mutually improving, most advantageous friendship.

FABRICIUS.

* The antient and famous oracle at *Tivoli*, that of the *Sibylla Tiburtina*, was perhaps in some degree an imitation of the *μναστεριον* of *Amphiarus* in *Greece*.

It is not certainly known in what part of the town of *Tivoli* this oracle was situate,

F A B R I C I U S.

FABRICIUS commanded the *Roman* armies in some of the most important campaigns: the contributions, which he in one year brought into the public treasury from the conquered nations, amounted to the value of near 300,000*l.* sterling; a most immense sum in those ages! Yet out of all this wealth he reserved to himself only one small wooden instrument for sacrifice.—It is to be observed, that the same story is related of *Curius*.

WHEN the deputies of these nations waited on *Fabricius* with the richest presents, he received them (like *Curius*) in his humble cottage: and lifting up his hand by turns to his mouth, to his ears, and his eyes, I endeavour, said he, to govern all these appetites; and as long as I can continue thus virtuous, so long shall I be secure from all the fears of want, or temptations of riches. Why then should I accept your treasures? If you can spare them yourselves, bestow them on those, who by sickness, or other misfortunes, are really in want of some relief.

THE same noble sentiments he retained in all his conferences, whether public or private, with king *Pyrrhus*;

Pyrrhus ; declining all the offers of riches and power, with which that ambitious sovereign artfully and delicately attempted to corrupt him.

BUT there is not, in his whole heroic life, any scene, in which the nobleness of his heart more worthily discovered itself, than in the surprize and indignation which he manifested, when at the royal banquet of *Pyrrhus*, he first heard the wretched doctrine, attributed (how truly I know not) to the contemporary philosopher, *Epicurus*, that self-indulgence was the principal most worthy object of human life ; and that to labour for the public good was but folly. From such false mean-spirited sophistry, he turned away with as noble and majestic a disdain, as that with which *Hercules* was ever imagined, by any poet or painter, turning from the false flattery of vicious pleasure, to his favourite heart-felt joy, the sublime and rapturous eloquence of virtue.

How pleased am I, said *Crito's* pupil, to hear you allude, particularly at this time and place, to that most beloved treatise, the judgment of *Hercules* by *Prodicus* ? For having been informed that the city of *Tibur*, to which we are now ascending, was dedicated and consecrated in a particular manner to *Hercules* ; and imagining that perhaps there might be still to be seen here some remains of
his

his temple; I have brought with me this afternoon from *Rome* that very treatise: knowing how noble entertainment it would be to you all, when seated perhaps in the portico of the very temple of *Hercules*, to peruse again that short but most sublime work. I hope, during the two days which we shall pass here, we shall find a leisure hour for that purpose: especially as the concluding paragraph of it seems capable to be not improperly applied as a motto to the catalogue of the *Roman* worthies, whose characters *Crito* is now recommending to our hearty zealous study, and ardent (though weak) imitation. * Δι' ἐμε (φησιν Ἀρετῇ)

Φίλοι μὲν θεοῖς οὐτὲς, ἀγαπητοὶ δὲ φίλοις, τιμιοὶ δὲ πατρίσιν. Ὅταν δ' ἐλθῇ τὸ πεπρωμένον τέλος, καὶ μετὰ λήθης ἀτιμοὶ κεύτῃται, ἀλλὰ μετὰ μνήμης τοῦ αἰεὶ χρόνου ὑμνυμένοι θαλάσσιον. Τοιαῦτα σοί, ὦ παῖ, τοκέων ἀγαθῶν Ἡρακλεῖς, ἐξέστ' διαπονησάμενῳ τὴν μακαριστοτάτην εὐδαιμονίαν κεκτήσθαι. What pleasure also shall I have

in reading with you the most amiable sentiment of *Socrates*, expressed in another part of the same volume? † Τῆς θησαυρὸς τῶν παλαιῶν σοφῶν ἀνδρῶν, καὶ ἐκεῖνοι κατελείπον ἐν βιβλίοις γράψαντες, ἀνελίττων, κοινῇ συν τοῖς φίλοις διερχομαι· καὶ αὐτὸ οὐ μόνον ἀγαθόν, ἐκλεγόμεθα· καὶ μέγα νομίζομεν κερδὲς, εἰ ἀλλήλοις φίλοι γινώμεθα. May I be happy enough, to be permitted to apply this sentiment also, particularly the latter part of it, to our present most happy
and

* *Xenophontis Memorabilia*, lib. ii. † *Ibid*, lib. i.

and joint studies !——But let us return to *Fabricius* and pray pardon me for this interruption.

LET me rather not interrupt you in such noble sentiments, replied *Crito* with tears of joy.—Much more happiness is it to me to attend to these sudden overflowings of your good heart, than to be myself repeating to you the story of these *Roman* heroisms ; all the particulars of which you must recollect, how infinitely better described by the writers of antiquity ! Why then should I enlarge on any other of the many noble circumstances of the history of *Fabricius* ? Why should I speak of his military valour, which surely was not inferior to his other virtues ; and by which he supported the so often defeated *Roman* armies against their most formidable enemy ? Why should I speak of his honour and generosity even to that enemy, particularly in the affair of the *Epirot* physician, in which he seems to have copied and excelled the noble behaviour of the great *Camillus* to the *Falisci* ?—No wonder, that *Pyrrhus*, struck with such repeated instances of magnanimity, should cry out on that occasion ! O great *Fabricius* ! how superior art thou to all temptations, and to all injuries ! It is as impossible for any thing on earth to turn thee from the path of justice and virtue, as it is to turn that great luminary (pointing to the sun) from its daily and eternal course of splendor and beneficence.

WHEN indeed we fully consider the glorious character of *Fabricius*; when from him we turn our admiration to the *contemporary* heroes of his country *Curius*, *Coruncanius*, *Atilius Serranus*, *Decius Tertius*, *Fabius Gurges*, and *Marcus Censorinus*; when, on one hand, we bend our eyes on the assembly of the *Roman* senate, then generally regulating their powerful decrees with a spirit of real honour and justice; (as was particularly the case in the affairs of *Rhegium* and *Camerinum*) when, on the other, we see virtue and piety, universal honesty and incorruption spread (as the ministers of *Pyrrhus* found) through all ranks and through both sexes of the *Roman* people; we cannot wonder, that an *Heathen* orator should, in the heat of his *Demosthenic* eloquence, have compared the whole city of *Rome*, at that time, to one great and holy temple.

THE most cool and impartial student must own, that the times of this generation form one of the most truly splendid Epochs in the whole *Roman* history*: and that among all the numerous exalted characters, which then adorned this country, there is none which merits greater veneration than this of *Fabricius*; none which displays a more noble example of wisdom, and of perseverance in virtue.

ON

* Vid. *Flor.* lib. i. chap. 18.

ON our return to *Rome*, I am in hopes that you will employ some leisure afternoon in refreshing your memories with a more particular account of his noble actions; they are related at length by many authors both *antient* and modern, but perhaps by none better than by your *Frensbemius*.

AFTER having with pleasure turned over the 13th and 14th books of his excellent supplement, it will not be an unpleasing amusement to you, to take an evening walk to the *Ponte Fabricio*. For though that bridge was not built till several generations after the times of our present hero, yet as it was probably the work of one of his descendants, and may be considered as a monument of his family *, it surely deserves to be highly respected on that account.



By *Crito's* example the company now rose from their seats, and, leaving this old temple, walked up to *Tivoli*. At the gate of the town, *Crito's* pupil enquired of his *Roman* servant for the famous temple of *Hercules*; but was informed that it was totally ruined, that the present cathedral was built on its spot, and that perhaps some parts of its walls might be the remains of the old fabrick.

ON

* The *Fabrician* bridge was built in the second year after the consulship of *Tully*. Part of the *antient* inscription on it is still remaining, particularly the following words. *L. Fabricius, C. F. Cur. Viar. faciundum curavit, idemque probavit.*

Chap. V. ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. 191

ON entering the market-place, the attention of the company was for some time employed in the examination of the two *Egyptian* statues there. They then turned on their left hand into the open area, that lies opposite to the market-place, and sat down at the terras, which is at the end of it.

FROM that terras is one of the most enchanting prospects which *Italy* can boast. The three young men immediately drew out their pencils to make some sketches of it.

WHILE they were thus employed, *Crito* sat by them in silence; his thoughts were taken up with the subjects of this afternoon's conversation, and from thence had gradually risen to much higher meditations.

THE dusk of the evening now coming on, the young gentlemen were obliged to leave their sketches imperfect. While they were rolling up their papers, *Crito's* pupil asked his tutor on what subject he had been so deeply musing during the last half hour.

FIXING his eyes on that part of the extensive prospect where *Rome* lay (though now at such a distance it was scarcely discernible) he paused for some few moments, and then replied in the following manner.

WE

WE are now, my dear fellow-students, arrived in our studies to that period of the *Roman* history, at which the learned Mr *Hooke* concludes his first volume; *Crevier*, in his quarto edition of *Livy*, does the same.

ON this occasion, permit me to offer to your considerations, some reflections which have lately risen in my mind, on having perused part of St. *Austin's* work *de Civitate Dei*.

HOWEVER great and splendid the virtues were of many *Roman* heroes, yet there are very great and very just objections to the *Roman* history, if taken in general, and if considered in a Christian light. The principal objection is, that it is an history of perpetual wars and slaughters.

If indeed we look back on that large volume, which contains its first five centuries, and through which we have passed in these five days conversations; we must own, that, excepting the blessed chapter of the reign of *Numa*, and some pages in those of *Ancus*, and *Servius Tullius*, all the rest of the book is deeply stained, and indelibly blotted with blood.

It is true, that several of these wars (particularly that of *Curius* and *Fabricius* against the *Tarentines*)

Chap. V. ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. 193

rentines) seem to have been founded in justice, according to the rigid law of nations. But however this may be, it must be acknowledged, that the long series of such bloody battles, sieges, captivities, triumphs, massacres, and various other kinds of misery, in which *Rome* was almost continually involving itself and its neighbouring nations, is highly tedious and hateful to an humane reader.

How much, my dear pupil, is it to be wished, that the spirit of *Numa* had, according to the poetic idea of *Plutarch*, now and then interposed breathing its pacific influence over these plains; like some gentle and salubrious breeze, exhaling from his *Egerian* grot, or from his sepulchre on the *Janiculan* hill? How much more amiable and instructive would the history of the heroes of *Rome* then have appeared?

WITH such a mixture of the works of peace, how much more sublime and awful would have been their fortitude and magnanimity? How much more beautiful and consistent their domestic honesty, contentment, and piety?

BUT, even as it is, the lives of these *Roman* heroes may prove a very useful study to us. For if, in the midst of the darkness and misery of their times, such virtues could arise; can we forget,

VOL. I.

Q

how

how much more is justly to be expected from us? We live, thank God, in much better times. From our earliest youth we have the happiness to be instructed in a religion, breathing the doctrines of the most exalted fortitude peculiarly united to the sweetest mercy. The examples also, which might be selected from the history of Christianity, are far superior to the most famous characters of Heathen *Rome*. My lips indeed ought not to presume to speak of the most Divine Character of its BLESSED FOUNDER, the lover of poverty and peace: I am not worthy to mention the names even of many of his servants; who in antient or modern times have departed this life in his faith and fear. Let me only breathe my wishes, (perhaps my humble prayers) that heaven would put it in the heart of some *proper* person to select, for the use of places of Christian Education, a short set of the most truly worthy characters of Christianity. These would greatly tend to inspire youth with the spirit of the most rational piety; (a piety inexpressibly and infinitely superior to that of *Numa*) and with all the heavenly virtues and works of peace and love, which flow from it. These would teach our children, much better than the examples of *Brutus*, or *Fabricius*, to persevere in what is right, and to be immoveable by all perils, by all temptations: to bear a life of labour and poverty with more perfect contentment and
real

Chap. V. ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. 195

real humility, than ever *Cincinnatus* or *Curius* did : to endeavour to excel *Publicola* and *Camillus* in doing good, according to their several stations, as long as they have breath ; in doing good even to the ungrateful : and at last joyfully to devote themselves to death ; not, like the *Decii*, for their friends and country only : but also, if need be, even for their enemies *.

* Vid. *Augustini* librum de civitate Dei,

END of Book the First.

Chap. V. ROMAN CONSTITUTIONS. 133

The preceding laws have been
repealed to make room for
those which are now in force.
The laws which have been
repealed are those which
were enacted by the
Senate and the People's
Assembly.

THE END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.



ROMAN CONVERSATIONS.

BOOK II.

CHAPTER I.

SIXTH DAY'S CONVERSATION.

RITO's pupil, according to custom, waked very early this morning, and on opening his window-shutters, was amply rewarded for his vigilance, by the sweet freshness of the air, and the beautiful sight

*Of day-spring ; and the sun, who scarce uprisen,
With wheels yet hovering o'er the ocean's brim,
Shot parallel to the earth his dewy ray.*

Not a single bird in any of the adjoining fields or groves was then silent : from his window this happy youth listened with pleasure to their joy. He gazed, sometimes on the mountains, and other distant objects of the charming landscape of *Tivoli* ;

sometimes on the neighbouring hill, from the brow of which several small but shining streams were pouring down their waters into the adjacent valley, and at the same time sending up their white exhalations to heaven. Several lines of *Milton's* description of *Eden* now recurred to his memory.

*Lowly he bow'd, adoring, and began
His oraisons, each morning duly paid.
These are thy glorious works, Parent of Good,
Almighty! &c.*

- FULL of the felicity both of devotion and innocence, he then walked out alone, amidst the murmurs and cascades of an hundred rivulets. On his return in about an hour's time, he found all his good friends risen. Full of chearfulness the whole company sat down to breakfast, and afterwards proceeded together to visit the natural curiosities and antiquities of the place.

THROUGH the streets of the town they walked to the bridge, which is at its further end. Leaning over the parapet wall, which is on the right-hand of that bridge, *Crito* with his pupil looked down on the famous cataract of the river *Anio*. They surveyed that majestic scene of nature with due admiration, though they had seen *Schaffhausen*, and read the most faithful descriptions of *Niagara*.
The

Chap. I. ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. 199

The attention of the other two gentlemen was, in the mean time, employed in viewing, on the rock on their left, the small but elegant antique building, which is commonly called the temple of the *Sibyll*. The youngest made several judicious observations on its architecture: the eldest, turning round to *Crito's* pupil, asked him some questions relative to that antient oracle, which was situate somewhere in this neighbourhood, and of which the *Sibylla Tiburtina* was probably one of the priestesses. That oracle I mean, said he, where, according to your beloved *Virgil*, king *Latinus* heard the prophecy of the future greatness of this *Roman* nation; greatness, not confined to *Italy* alone, but, from the remarkable epocha of the first *Punic* war, spreading gradually over all parts of the *Mediterranean*, and extending itself on one side to the *Atlantic*, on the other side to the *Arabian* ocean.

*Omnia sub pedibus, quæ sol utrumque recurrens
Aspicit oceanum, vertique regique videbunt.*

THE conversation was now interrupted by the arrival of two young travellers, one a *Dutchman*, the other a Dane, accompanied by a *Roman* Abate, their antiquarian. As they were all very well acquainted with *Crito*, and his three young countrymen, they joined company for the remainder of

the day ; they continued indeed together during the whole time which they passed at *Tivoli* and *Palestrina*.

DURING that time *Crito* totally suspended his course of lectures, he did not ever let fall even one hint relative to it ; though in visiting some of the magnificent ruins in the neighbourhood of *Tivoli*, he had a good opportunity of illustrating the virtues of those heroes of whom he had been lately talking.

IN viewing indeed the pompous palaces and gardens of *Mæcenas* and *Adrian*, he could not help making, in his own breast, some reflections on the characters of those two famous *Romans*. They were indeed both of them, in many respects, really great men, and authors of much good to their country, and to the world in general ; besides being the most celebrated patrons, the one of polite literature, the other of many various and elegant arts. But yet, from both these examples, *Crito* reflected with concern, how frequently riches (if not constantly directed to their most noble use, the exalted object of beneficence) produce, even in persons of great sense, a taste for expensive vanities, indolent softness, and low pleasures ; and sometimes (such is the sad progress of corruption) even the meanest vices that dishonour

dishonour human life, and consequently the meanest fears of death *. How much would such a contrast, (thought he) if properly drawn, illustrate the abstinence and magnanimity of the *Curii* and *Fabricii*?

BUT he was silent on all such subjects: he let the conversation continually take its own turn, or if he ever contrived to direct it to any particular topic, it was generally to something relative to policy, virtù, or poetry; chiefly in order to give an opportunity to his three young countrymen to distinguish themselves on these subjects in the eyes of their foreign acquaintance.

THE rest of the time he employed in desiring frequent instruction from the *Roman Abate*, both at *Tivoli* and *Palæstrina*, in all matters relative to the antiquities of those places.

FREQUENTLY also did he hear, with great pleasure, the conversation turn on the description of *Holland*, (that country which seems the *chef d'œuvre* of human industry) and on the long-stretched dominions of the wise and pacific king of Denmark, the patron of science in the North†. Relative indeed to these subjects, the eldest of the young *Englishmen*

* See *Seneca's* reflections on the pusillanimous character of *Mæcenat*. Epist. 101.

† This king was *Frederic the 5th*, who died Jan. 14, 1766.

men was often asking some questions of his *Dutch* or *Danish* friend; being peculiarly desirous of informing himself of the nature of the sea-coasts, the state of navigation, and other maritime affairs of both their countries.

IN this agreeable manner did two or three days pass away. In their return from *Palestrina*, the travellers separated at *Monte Portio*: one company went on straight to *Rome*: (the other, that is the *English*) after some short stay at *Monte Portio*, turned off to the left; and by way of *Marino*, and several other towns descended to that part of the sea-coast which lies between *Ostia* and the *Monte Circeo*.

THE fine weather, which had induced them to extend their excursion, accompanied them throughout this whole tour.



PARTICULARLY pleasant was the morning, which they passed in a *felucca*, or four oar'd barge, rowing about the old haven of *Antium*. Smooth was the sea, and the sky as serene as when the fleet of *Aeneas* was rowed along *that* coast under the protection of *Neptune*.

Jamque

*Jamque rubescebat radiis mare, & æthere ab alto
Aurora in roseis fulgebat lutea bigis,
Cum zephyri posuere; cœnisque repente resedit
Flatus, & in lento luctantur marmore tonsæ.*

THE company, during the preceding evening, after supper in their inn, had begun to resume their former employment, by talking of the great Roman characters which adorn the history of the first Punic war. The eldest of the young gentlemen had then spoke with great rapture of *Calpurnius Flamma*, the worthy imitator of the first 258. *Decius: Moriamur, milites; & morte nostrâ cripiamus ex obsidione circumventas legiones.* He had spoke also with still greater reverence, of *M. Valerius Messala*, the author of the long fifty years peace with king *Hiero*. Other contemporary heroes 263. occurred to his memory this morning; for while he surveyed from the felucca this celebrated haven, and the many piers of its antient mole, which are still remaining; while on each side he viewed the bending coasts of *Italy*, and in the front the open wide-spread level of the *Mediterranean* sea; he could not help recollecting the merit of *Duilius* and *Cornelius Scipio*, under whose consulate the 260. *Romans* began to exert, on the watery element, that astonishing bravery and industry, patience and perseverance, which for near five centuries they had been practising on the land.

PROBABLY,

PROBABLY, said he, it was at this very haven, (for *Antium* seems to have been the *Portsmouth* of *Rome*) that the *Romans* equipped the greatest part of their first naval armament. How amazing was their dispatch in that great work ! *Sexagesimum intra diem*, says *Frenshemius*, *quàm cæsa erat materia, classis in anchoris stetit.*

HE then pointed to the extensive woods, with which all the shores are covered, and repeated to *Crito's* pupil the following lines of *Virgil*.

— *littore celsas*
Deducunt toto naves ; natat uncta carina.
Frondentesque ferunt remos, & robora silvis
Infabricata.
Migrantes cernas, totâque ex urbe ruentes.

ROME seems indeed to have then poured forth all her multitudes upon the sea ; for this first fleet, it is very remarkable, consisted of not less than one hundred and sixty sail, and probably had on board no less than sixty-seven thousand soldiers and mariners. I found this calculation in the account given by *Polybius*, that the complement of the *Roman* vessels, in some of the principal sea-fights of the first *Punic* war, was (I suppose on an average) four hundred and twenty men each.

THIS young patriot now communicated to the company some papers which he had lately received from *London*, being a general account of all the marine forces of *Great Britain* during the present war.

HE then turned his thoughts again to the history of antient *Rome*, and reminded his young friends of that inscription which is still remaining in the *Capitol*, and which was antiently annexed to *Duilius's* rostral column. That most antique inscription is indeed visited by all travellers with peculiar curiosity, it being the only monument now remaining of the times of the first *Punic* war : but on account of its subject, it had given *particular* pleasure to these *English* youths, who came to *Rome* full of joy for the late naval heroisms of their countrymen.

THE boatmen now rowing across the harbour, the company were entertained with the pleasant prospect of the shore, of the modern town of *Nettuno*, and of the neighbouring woods, among which are the ruins of old *Antium*.

FEW places indeed on the coasts of *Italy* exceed that haven, either in its natural beauty, or in the number of antiquities still remaining there.

THE

THE youngest of the company sat down in the midst of the boat, and opened *Volpi's* description of them. He shewed to *Crito's* pupil, who was sitting by him, the plan of the temple of *Fortune*, which that learned father had with great diligence traced out from its ruins,

CRITO's pupil examined it with attention ; after some time, lifting up his eyes from the book towards the place on the shore, near which that temple is supposed to have stood, he repeated with a very thoughtful air the two or three first stanzas of the ode which *Horace* composed most probably in that very place,

*O Diva, gratum quæ regis Antium,
Præsens vel imo tollere de gradu
Mortale corpus, vel seperbos
Vertere funeribus triumphos ! &c.*

How much more properly situated, said he, does the temple of that goddess seem to be in this *seaport* of *Antium*, than on the *hills* of *Præneste* ? for how much soever the *ruris colonus* is, like all other mortals, subject to the power of *Fortune*, yet surely she seems to be in a particular manner *domina æquoris* ; the sea being, in several respects, a most suitable emblem of her inconstancy and mutability.

If we consider, continued he, only the *naval* history of the first *Punic* war, with what *varieties of fortune* shall we find it filled? the dominion of the sea, which the *Carthaginians* and their *Phœnician* ancestors had possessed from time immemorial, was overturned in the very first engagement; and all their naval skill baffled by one engine, the invention of a nation as little acquainted with maritime affairs as the modern *Prussians*. Nor did the proud and presumptuous spirit of *Rome* receive less humiliation on the same element; their victorious fleets were the sport of winds and waves: the shores of *Italy* and *Sitily* were filled with their carcasses: for, if I am not mistaken, they lost in one storm off the coast of *Camarina*, two 255. hundred and eighty-four ships of war, the crews of which, (let me reckon) according to your *Polybius's* calculation, must have amounted to near one hundred and twenty thousand; and in another hurricane off cape *Palinurus*, one hundred and 253. fifty, the crews of which, by the same calculation, were sixty-three thousand. They suffered also a third terrible misfortune of the same kind off cape *Pachynus*.

Dixit inimicus

Persequar, & comprehendam,

Dividam spolia, implebitur anima mea,

Evaginabo gladium meum,

Interficiet

Interficiet eos manus mea :

*Flavit spiritus tuus, & operuit eos mare.**

BLESSINGS be on your head, replied *Crito*, (who was sitting at the helm) for these pious sentiments! but let us never forget, my dear friend, that the power which is called Fortune, but in reality is Divine Providence, does in fact *equally* rule both sea and land. On each element, innumerable are the instances which history affords of the weakness of man, of the vanity of his hopes, and the perpetual mutability of all his affairs. In the times, the events of which you are now considering, it is remarkable that the *Romans* were visited by a very heavy and unexpected reverse of fortune at *land* also; I mean that total rout of their legions in the plains of *Africk*, which were the *Cannæ*, or rather the *Carrhæ* of the first *Punic* war.

THE character of the unfortunate commander in that battle, is the subject of the paper with which I intended next to trouble you. If you please, I will *at present* desire your opinions on some parts of the history of his life; it does not seem unsuitable either to the place in which we now are, or to the present subject of the conversation.

THE

* *Ex.* chapter xv. ver. 9, 10.

THE boat-men now, at the desire of the young gentlemen, took in their oars; the vessel rested without motion on the calm and glassy surface of the deep.

REGULUS.

REGULUS lived at a time, when the power of Rome was risen to a great height, when she was sovereign of Italy, and successfully struggling with Carthage for the dominion of all the neighbouring islands and seas. As consul, he, in conjunction with Manlius, commanded that vast Roman fleet, which had on board near five times the number of soldiers and mariners which filled the famous Spanish armada *. With this fleet he attacked the Carthaginians, who were superior both in number and skill: he defeated them by mere

VOL. I.

R

force

* This account is founded on a comparison of the histories of Polybius and Thuanus. By the former of these it appears, that the number of persons embarked in this Roman fleet amounted to one hundred and forty thousand.

Τὸ μὲν σύνταγμα Ῥωμαίων ναυτικῆς δυνάμεως περὶ τετταράς ην καὶ δέκα μυριάδας. — τῶν δὲ Καρχηδονίων ὑπὲρ πέντε καὶ δέκα μυριάδας. POLYB. lib. I.

In comparison with this, how small does the Spanish Armada appear? *In summâ, numerus nautarum fuit octo millia. militum viginti millia, præter nobiles ac spontaneos.* — THUANUS, lib. 89. cap. 8. — *Strype's account of the whole together, (including soldiers, sailors, galley-slaves, &c. &c.) amounts only to 29,839 men.* — STRYPE, vol. 3. Append. pag. 221 and 222.

210 ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. Book II.

force of valour, and then disembarking on the coasts of *Africk*, he defeated their land forces also; he made himself master of two hundred of their towns, and of two hundred thousand captives; he advanced even to the city of *Tunis*, which is but fifteen miles distant from the gates of *Carthage* itself.

IN the midst of this success and power, he shewed himself (in some particulars at least) superior to all this flow of fortune. For in the midst of this high exaltation, he petitioned the *Roman* senate for leave to return home, giving this humble and most amiable reason for that his request; viz. Because during his long absence, his private estate, which was not more than fourteen acres of land, (so small was the property, with which so great and powerful a commander was contented) lay neglected and uncultivated, and his wife and children, who had no other support, were thus reduced to great distress. The *Roman* senate answered this petition, according to the same spirit of those times; not bestowing on him the spoil of any of the conquered cities, nor even any part of the contributions raised on the fertile provinces of that opulent region; but only assuring him (as a sufficient encouragement for one who laboured only for the service and defence of his country) that if he would continue his labours for the public, his family

family should be supported, and his little field cultivated at the public charge.

HAPPY would it have been for himself, and for several hundred thousands of his fellow-creatures, if he had observed in the cause of *Rome* the same moderation as in his own private concerns; but with sorrow must we own, that when *Carthage* lay at his feet, supplicating for peace, *Regulus* refused to grant it, except on the most oppressive terms. Shocking and inhuman was this action, but it is not certain to what cause we are to attribute it; whether to orders which *Regulus* received on this head from the government at *Rome*, or to the erroneous principles of patriotism, by which he himself probably was misled.

PERMIT me, my dear fellow-students, on this occasion to express my wishes, that none of you may ever forget, that patriotism is a virtue far inferior to philanthropy. In your private concerns, may you continue to abhor all sentiments of avarice and ambition; nor think yourselves at liberty to encourage the far more hurtful ambition and avarice of the public, if any of you should ever be called to preside at the helm of the *British* state.

PERMIT me also to breathe a wish, that the present *British* government may be influenced by a

212 ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. Book II.

Christian, not a *Roman* spirit, in putting a speedy end to all the miseries of this present war; a war, which has stained with blood the seas and shores of the four quarters of the globe. May this dismal havock be soon changed into a just and moderate, and therefore most wise and most honourable peace!

I CANNOT forbear communicating to you some lines of a copy of verses, which my dear pupil compos'd some weeks ago on the evening of the first day of *May*.

*O gentle breeze, which from th' Egerian grot
Mildly exhal'st, sweet as the censer's fume;
Extend thy gracious influence! breathe forth
O'er Germany's waste plains, the blood-stain'd banks
Of Oder and sad Albis! O breathe forth
More welcome thou to that afflicted land,
More fragrant thou than vernal Zephyrus,
Tho' scatt'ring dews benign, and flow'rs of thousand hues.*

*Come, gentle breeze! calm all this storm of war;
Breathe forth thy balm, to heal fall'n Gallia's wounds,
And smoothe in Albion's seas each swelling wave.*

BUT let me spare the blushes of my dear pupil, (I had almost called him my dear son) and return to our *Roman* studies.

IN

IN the hand of Providence any instrument is sufficient for any work. The arrival of *one* man at *Carthage* (nor was he of any considerable rank, figure, or name) changed the whole scene. The *Roman* pride and power were laid level with the dust by one *Spartan*, and this at a time when *Sparta* itself was in a very low state. 255.

O MY dear sir, (in saying this *Crito* addressed himself to the eldest of the young gentlemen) how very similar is this catastrophe of *Regulus* to that of *Nicias*; the account of which I remember your reading at *Cambridge* with much pleasure, in the favourite part of your favourite author *Thucydides*? One single *Spartan* was then able to overthrow all the *Athenian*, as now all the *Roman* power.

IF you should extend your travels to *Syracuse*, with what pleasing melancholy will you there survey the scenes of the misfortunes of *Nicias*, and visit those vast caverns and quarries, which were the prisons of the captive *Athenians*? *Regulus*, like *Nicias*, fell into the hands of his enemies; (I am sure you remember *Polybius*'s fine reflections on the mutability of fortune, while speaking on *this* subject) and, notwithstanding his high rank, suffered much ill treatment during a captivity of several years.

214 ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. Book II.

THERE is not indeed any part of history (answered the eldest of the young gentlemen) which more strongly attracts my attention, than the unexpected falls of great men, whether civil or military; their violent deaths, or long imprisonments.—But pray proceed in your paper.

FORTUNE again changed, (said *Crito*) and the *Carthaginians* also suffered an heavy punishment for their pride and cruelty. In one battle near *Panormus* they lost no less than *one hundred and twenty elephants*, the chief strength of their land-forces. Humbled by this stroke of adversity, they had recourse even to their prisoner *Regulus*, and sent him to *Rome* to negotiate their interest.

BUT let me not trouble you (continued *Crito*, laying down on the sail-cloth his paper of notes) with my tedious repetition of so noted a story, as that of the behaviour of this great man, when arrived at *Rome*. Let us rather employ ourselves in duly reflecting on his example. He supported, though to his utmost personal danger, the interest of his country; and he obeyed, even to death, the strictest laws of honour and justice. How voluntarily indeed did he resign himself again into his enemies hands! With what resolution did he take leave of his friends and country for ever! With what composure of mind did he sail along
this

this very coast for *Africk*, to meet the tortures and death which that cruel nation was preparing for him!

*Sciebat, quæ sibi barbarus
Tortor pararet.*

Most cruel indeed and inhuman is generally said to have been that scene; but yet it may, like all other scenes of that nature, be very instructive and useful to us. *Vix ulla contra dolorem ac mortem fortior disciplina.*

O my dear pupils, (permit me to call you all by that endearing name) you are entering into a world, which you will find full of *encomiums* on fortitude, on the love of justice and patriotism. May it be your constant endeavours *εὖως πολιτευσασθαι ΕΡΓΩ καὶ ὁ λόγῳ Πειθομενοι τοῖς ὑμετέροις τροφεύσι, μὴτε το ζῆν περὶ πλείονος ποιεῖτε, μὴτε αλλο μὴδεν προ τῆ δικαίᾳ*. Αλλά καὶ εἰ ἀνάγκη εἶναι τοῦ βίου ὑμᾶς *εὖως τελευτᾶν, γενεῖτο Τυχῇ ἀγαθῇ*. Εἰ ταύτῃ τῷ ΘΕΩ φιλον, ταύτῃ εἶω*. I can scarce wish a happier death even to you my dear *real* pupil.

Quin ego non alio digner te funere, Palla.

R 4

LET

* Vide Πλάτωνος Κριτικῶν

LET not your youthful minds be disheartened or dismayed at the severe trials which sometimes (though seldom) happen to virtue. Most willingly could I, on this occasion, recommend to your use the impenetrable and invincible armour, the celestial and *golden panoply* of religion: but even an Heathen moralist can in some degree comfort and encourage you, by observing, that there seems to be no degree of pain, whether of body or of mind, but what may be supported or overcome by resolution, when assisted by habit and example.

HAPPY, happy are those young men, who, in preparing themselves for the labours of this short life, have even such an *æs triplex* as this * round their breasts; who direct this intrepidity to the most noble purposes, particularly, like *Regulus*, to the service of their country, and the support of the cause of justice; who, like the *contemporary* of *Regulus*, (the youthful *Spartan Agis*) temper their fortitude continually with the mildest humanity, and with the sweetest benevolence even to the last breath.

I OUGHT

* — *Æs triplex*
Circâ pectus erat.

HOR. lib. i. Od. 3.

The defence which philosophy affords to the human mind in the sharp conflicts of adversity, is no more comparable to that of religion, than the brazen armour of *Diomed* was to the golden panoply of *Glancus*.

Χρυσία χαλκίων, εκατομβοί' ὑπὸ βαβίων.

* * *

I OUGHT not to omit (continued *Crito* after some pause) to take notice that *L. Cæcilius Metellus* was a hero contemporary and probably of equal magnanimity with *Regulus*. By his conduct and courage he gained that great victory at *Panormus*, which we just now mentioned; for he infused new life and spirit into the *Roman* armies, and gave them confidence, after *Regulus's* defeat, to face the enemy in the field. He sustained afterwards, without any appearance of degenerating from his former merit, several consulships, and the important office of *Magister Equitum*. Rising at length to the high dignity of *Pontifex Maximus*, he continued to exert, in the cause of religion, the same magnanimity, which he had, in the cause of his country, shewn in the field of battle. His zeal was indeed worthy of a far better faith.

LET us not forget, on our return to *Rome*, to visit that church of *Santa Maria Liberatrice*, in *Campo Vaccino*, which stands on the spot of the antient temple of *Vesta*; there may we properly reflect on the fortitude of *Metellus*, in venturing from religious motives on the most painful and terrible kind of death.

BUT

BUT *at present* let us not enlarge on that topick ; let us rather turn our thoughts to the glorious view which is now before our eyes, and which demands both our attention, and our gratitude.

O MY dear fellow-travellers, surely the works of the great and good Creator, are not less admirable on *this* element than on the land.

How bright is the mirror of this wide watery plain ? the sun shines on it with his fullest splendor and a cool breeze from the west seems to be rising, to add new beauties to this enrapturing prospect both of sky and sea.

WHILE *Crito* was speaking, some silver clouds began to variegate the pure azure of the heavens ; a gentle gale at the same time began to go forth over the waters, darkening at first some separate and distinct places of their surface, but in very few minutes changing the colour of the whole into a deep green.

THE waves, though small and low, were soon streaked with a snow-white foam. The boat-men reared their mast, and spread their small sail ; the vessel inclined a little on one side, and the clear waters murmured under the prow. The servants of the young *English* nobleman seated themselves
at

Chap. I. ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. 219

at the head of the barge, under the shade of the sail, and with their *French* horns performed several slow and solemn airs. This concert of water-music was continued with some intervals for about two hours.

It was now time to spread a cloth on one of the benches in the boat, for the cold provision which they had brought from the inn at *Nettuno*.

THE conversation afterwards turned on the pleasant though short voyages which this company of friends had made together on the coast of *England*; whether from *Portsmouth* to the *Isle of Wight*, or from *Plymouth* to the groves of *Mount Edgecumbe*. *Mount Edgecumbe* they observed to bear a strong resemblance to some parts of the coasts of *Italy*, both in regard to the grandeur of its prospects, and the variety of its productions; many shrubs of wild myrtle shooting up among its rocks, and its plantations of cypress being far more flourishing than those in any other part of *England*.

WHILE the company were thus conversing, the felucca was imperceptibly carried on by the breeze several miles to the southward of the port of *Nettuno*; keeping indeed close under the shore, but during most part of the afternoon directing its course towards that high promontory, which still retains

retains the name of the hill of *Circe*. Looking on it, *Crito's* pupil could not help recollecting some lines of the *Æneid*, and more of the *Odyssey*,

It growing late in the afternoon, the boat-men tacked about on their return homewards: they had soon however recourse to their oars, for the breeze gradually fell with the sun; and the evening grew at length as perfectly calm and serene, as ever could be imagined to be produced by the incantations of *Circe*. Soon after sun-set the stars began to appear; the twilight in *Italy* being very short, in comparison of what it is in *England*: about an hour afterwards (at which time the felucca entered the harbour of *Nettuno*) the moon arose.—*Splendet tremulo sub lumine pontus.*

DURING this time, *Crito's* pupil (whose poetic ideas were much enlivened by this day's voyage) expressed his wishes, that the company might be able to extend their travels into *Sicily*, and to follow *Æneas* and *Ulysses* there also, in their voyages round the coasts of that island.

THE eldest of the young gentlemen ardently joined in the same wish, though from another motive. How pleasing will it be, he replied, to trace *there* the great events of the first *Punic* war! What satisfaction must a student of that history find,

Chap. I. ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. 221

find, in sailing among the isles of *Lipara*, and in rowing along the coast of *Panormus*, or *Agrigentum*! The pleasure would be much encreased, if he had with him in the boat the first and perhaps best part of *Frensbemius's* Supplement. Permit me, my dear friends, to fancy myself making that voyage with you, and now landing in the bay of the ten years besieged city of *Lilybæum*, the *Troy* of *Nævius*. I remember your shewing me in *Tully de claris Oratoribus*, a passage relative to the character of that poem*.

IF we should really make the tour of *Sitily*, I hope we shall allot one entire week to *Lilybæum*. Gladly would I submit to all the inconveniences of bad lodging there, if it were only that I might be able to study on that spot some chapters of *Hampton's Polybius*; particularly that, which, if I recollect right, relates the virtue of the *Achæan Alexo*. Most delightful also will be our rides in that neighbourhood, while we shall be sometimes among the hills, surveying the scenes of the heroisms of *Amilcar*, the father of *Hannibal*; at other times viewing from the shore the prospect of the *Ægates*. If I am not mistaken, one of the *Valerian* family had the honour of assisting *Lutatius Catulus* in the great victory gained near those islands. I hope you 242.
will prevail on your tutor to favour us soon with
some

* Vid. chap. 19.

some of his observations on the characters of each of those brave *Romans*.

I OUGHT indeed (answered *Crito*) to have studied with peculiar care whatever is to be found in the antient writers relative to *their* history. Among all the worthies of those blessed families of the *Valerii* and *Catuli*, there are not any perhaps more truly deserving your attention and love. Nor speak I this merely in compliment to your judgment, for they certainly were authors of a very good and glorious work; a work, which is not to be paralleled by any action that adorns any part of the whole republican history of *Rome*.

I MEAN the most happy and most truly glorious consequence of their great victory at the *Ægates*. Ill indeed should we execute the design of our present *Roman* studies, if we were to be totally silent on that head.

IN the engagement itself, *Valerius Falto* seems to have equalled the military conduct and courage of any of his ancestors. *Lutatius Catulus* also set a most glorious example of the same virtues to all his descendants. Wounded in storming the breach at the siege of *Drepanum*, *Lutatius*, as soon as the great *Carthaginian* fleet appeared in sight, ordered himself to be carried in his couch on board his galley,

galley, that he might, though in that condition, share with his countrymen the danger of the sea-fight. As soon as that was concluded, he successfully attacked *Amilcar* by land.

BUT it is not on his *warlike* achievements (however great) that I should be desirous of fixing your attention. Many were the *Roman* admirals, *qui æquor hoc infecerunt sanguine punico*: many returned to *Rome* surrounded with the pride of *naval* triumphs. After their deaths, their sepulchres were perhaps ornamented with sculptured rostral crowns, and festoons of sea-weeds. But the memory of *Lutatus Catulus* deserves far higher honour.

I remember with great joy the reflections of one of this company, some months ago, when from the rocks near *Genoa* he first saw the *Mediterranean* sea. He had that morning been visiting the *Darsena**, and had there, at the expence of about 20*l.* redeemed from captivity a poor old *Turk*. (Pardon me, my dear pupil, for thus revealing your charity and goodness.) He afterwards went with me to that pleasant walk, which you know is on the eastern side of the city, on the edge of the rocks. Viewing from thence the noble prospect of this sea, he lamented with a sincere sigh the almost perpetual wars

* The *Darsena* is that part of the docks at *Genoa*, where the *Barbary* slaves are confined.

wars on it between the natives of *Afric* and of *Europe*.

*Littora littoribus contraria, fluctibus undas,
—Arma armis; pugnant ipsique nepotes.*

IT is a very considerable honour (continued then my dear pupil) to modern *Italy*, that it can reckon among its natives a *Columbus*, a *Cabott*, and a *Vespucius*; by whose discoveries navigation has been extended far and wide over the vast *Atlantic* ocean. It would be also a very considerable happiness to the same country, if at *Genoa* or at *Venice*, at *Naples* or at *Rome*, some true politicians should ever arise, able to settle a wise general plan of pacification with *Turkey* and *Barbary*. *Tuscany* has lately done something of that kind. Thus might they take one great step towards blessing their countrymen with the free and secure commerce of *this* sea; *this* sea, which lies at their doors, and which seems indeed created for the mutual benefit of *Italy*, and of its *European*, *Asiatic*, and *African* neighbours.

IT is an additional misery to the perpetual wars on this sea, that the captives on both sides are enslaved.

SUCH

SUCH were then my dear pupil's reflections ; but, thank God, the present wars on the *Mediterranean*, between the states of *Italy* and *Barbary*, though productive of much misery, yet are as nothing in comparison of the horrors of the first *Punic* war. In that war, which lasted four and twenty years, five hundred *Carthaginian*, and seven hundred *Roman* vessels of war were burnt, sunk, and destroyed ; their complements, if taken together, will I believe amount (according to your calculation from *Polybius*) to upwards of five hundred thousand men. Add to these the crews of the infinite multitude of smaller vessels, which were destroyed during the same time. Add also the great numbers of soldiers and others, who perished in *Afric* and *Sicily*, in many bloody battles and sieges. Horribly dreadful will be the amount of the whole.

How blessed then, how dear to mankind ought to be the memory of such true heroes as *Lutatus Catulus* ! Warned probably by the fatal example of *Regulus*, he, in the height of victory, wisely and virtuously negotiated a peace with the enemy on *moderate* terms ; they may be certainly called moderate, in comparison of those on which *Regulus* insisted. The senate indeed and people of *Rome* made great difficulties in approving these conditions ; they protracted the negotiation for several years, and during that space of time behaved in

- some things very honourably, in others very dishonourably towards *Carthage*. But the blessed work of *Lutatius Catulus* was at length in some
35. manner concluded *; and the gates of war were at last shut; (the *only* time that most happy ceremony was performed during the *whole* republican history of *Rome*.)

PACE TERRA MARIQUE PARTA.

CHAP.

* The *Roman* government made an addition of some articles to the treaty drawn up by *Lutatius*. These articles were very heavy on the *Carthaginians*, and were, according to *Polybius*, [see the beginning of his third book] the principal cause of the second *Punic* war; the miseries of which war might perhaps have never had a being, if this treaty of peace had been finished with the same moderation and wisdom, with which it was originally planned by *Lutatius*.

C H A P. II.

SEVENTH DAY'S CONVERSATION.

CRITO to-day found himself much indisposed with the consequences of a cold, caught by being on the water so late last night; he would however without delay have attended his friends on their return to *Rome*, but they would by no means suffer it. His *grateful* pupil in particular was very anxious on *his* account.

ATTENTION to health is indeed indispensably necessary to all persons who make the tour of *Italy*; there are perhaps but few countries where the neglect of it is more dangerous or more fatal *.

S 2

IN

* On considering the number and importance of the lives of those *English* noblemen and gentlemen, who are every year travelling into *Italy* it seems much to be wished, that there was published for their use some short medicinal treatise, faithfully pre-acquainting them with the climate of the various parts of that strange country, (in which health and death are frequently found as next door neighbours); and containing rules and prescriptions properly founded on the observations of the natives, and properly adapted to *English* constitutions.

But such a treatise can be the work only of a *British* physician; who, besides possessing the due qualifications of his profession, has also been himself resident a considerable time in *Italy*, particularly at *Rome*.

The

228 ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. Book II.

IN passing through several parts of that country, particularly most of the low lands on the sea-coasts, *Crito* had been constantly most earnestly solicitous in his care of his pupil's health, though he always too much disregarded his own.

HOWEVER, by the united persuasions of the company, he now consented to defer the journey to *Rome* for three or four days; and in the interval, to give himself up to the care of his two favourite physicians, quiet and abstinence.

DURING this confinement to his chamber, he would willingly have employed himself in the prosecution of his *Roman* studies; his paper of notes, relative to the two or three following characters, being as yet not reduced to their proper form; but his affectionate pupil would not allow him to give any kind of attention to such thoughts in his present illness. Effectually to prevent him from any such fatiguing application of mind, that worthy young man desired to borrow those papers of notes. He then persuaded his two friends to set themselves a week's exercise during their present leisure; that is, each to chuse the character which was most pleasing

The parents of the robust young traveller, and the friends of the invalid, are almost equally interested in the wish, that, whenever an *English* physician of suitable abilities shall happen to visit thus that country, he may (at least during his leisure hours) have the charity to employ himself in such a work.

Chap. II. ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. 229

pleasing to him, and to draw it up in his own way, though principally from *Crito's* materials.

CRITO most gladly and thankfully consented to this proposal. In the mean time his indisposition went off, and his health was perfectly re-established.

ON the next *Wednesday* and *Thursday* he attended his young friends in visiting the fine church and palace at *Nettuno*, and the several beautiful villas near *Capo d'Anzio*. On *Friday* they all left *Nettuno*, and setting out very early (in order to avoid the heats) found themselves at noon arrived within less than twenty miles of *Rome*.

THEY stopt to refresh themselves at an inn in a country town, not far distant from the foot of *Monte Albano*, and staid there during the hot hours of the afternoon.

To amuse that time, *Crito's* pupil took down a map of *Lombardy*, which hung in the room, and laid it on the table.

HE surveyed it with great pleasure, tracing out on it the tour which he made last autumn through that country, and recollecting some pleasing idea at every place. He repeated several lines from the modern, as well as from the antient poets, which are

descriptive of the beauties of the banks of the *Po*. How numerous, continued he, are *these* other streams, which go forth to fertilize this blessed region ; some descending from the *Appennines*, others with more abundance of waters from the *Alps* ! How magnificent is *that* long northern wall of the *Alps*, which the great hand of nature seems to have built as a shelter from the cold to the rich and various fruits of this garden of *Europe* !

IF one of *Milton's* good angels had ever alighted on the summit of these *Alpine* or *Apennine* mountains, how rapturous would have been his speech on viewing and hailing the prospect of this earthly paradise !

YET perhaps on the whole, (continued he, after some pause for cool reflection) there are other countries in *Europe*, which are not less blessed by Providence, both as to fertility of soil, and convenience of situation. For how often has this seemingly impregnable fortification of the *Alps* been scaled by *Gauls*, *Lombards*, and many other rough nations of the North. Far better is the watery fortification with which our happy island is surrounded ; a barrier almost impregnable, while Providence continues to protect our naval power. Such, I remember were your reflections on this subject, my dear tutor, while in a journey through
Devon-

Chap. II. ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. 231

Devonshire we had almost continually the sea on one hand, and on the other many winding vallies full of the gardens of *Pomona*; blushing with bloom; and far more beautiful, at least to an *English* eye, than the vineyards and olive-gardens, the rice-grounds and mulberry plantations of *Lombardy*.

LOMBARDY, (replied *Crito*, drawing his chair to the table on which the map lay) like other fertile countries, has been in different ages the lot of different people; besides those northern nations whom you mention, many colonies were planted in it in much earlier times by the *Etruscans*, and by the *Romans*.

WHEN, and in what manner the *Etruscans* settled in it, whether by consent of the original inhabitants, or by force, I know not. The *Romans* entered it soon after the conclusion of the first *Punic* war.

AT that time there were great mutual jealousies and apprehensions between the *Romans* and the *Cisalpine Gauls*; very great preparations also on each side for self-defence. The flame of war was unhappily kindled by the tribune *Caius Flaminius*.

You may perhaps be able to recollect his character, as drawn by *Polybius*, and by the other

232 ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. Book II.

writers of the *Roman* history ; he was brave, but full of passion and rashness ; highly conceited, though destitute of any really useful talents, whether military or political ; he was irreligious ; he was immoderately fond of popular applause, for the gaining of which he was indeed particularly well formed ; he was a flatterer of the pride and avarice of the people.

YET, on the other hand, let us not forget to give him those due praises to which he is justly entitled.

VERY exemplary was his behaviour to his father
232. at the *Rostra*, though he was then tribune. Very
exemplary also was that great public work, of
220. which he was the author while censor ; I mean
that long paved road, of which, in our journey
from *Rimini* to *Rome*, we saw several considerable
fragments still remaining.

PROBABLY also we may with justice attribute to him the first building of that famous *Circus*, on the ruins of which the *Mattei* palace now stands. He seems also to have behaved well in his prætorship of *Sicily**. But whatever might be his merit on these accounts yet certainly he was in other respects

* Vid. *Livy*, lib. xxxiii. chap. 42.

Chap. II. ÆM. PAPUS. C. ATILIUS. 233

respects the occasion of very much misery, not only to the *Cisalpine Gauls*, but to *Rome* also.

Sed absit Caii Flamini memoria.

LET US much rather give our attention to the actions of his contemporaries the two consuls *Æmilius Papus*, and the brave *C. Atilius*, the son of *Regulus*, who died for his country in this *Cisalpine* war. 225.

IN the same times also flourished *Marcellus*, *Paulus*, and *Fabius*; for these three heroes, who so eminently distinguished themselves in the second war with *Carthage*, were also at the head of the *Roman* state during this war with *Lombardy**. Their virtues indeed, though (like those of the other heroes of ancient *Rome*) they are very unhappily mingled with many faults and defects, highly deserve our study.

It was therefore with peculiar satisfaction, that I heard from you, my dear pupil, that yourself and your two worthy friends had, during my late indisposition at *Nettuno*, kindly employed yourselves in examining *their* characters.

It

* *Fabius, consul iterum, C. Flaminio, tribuno plebis, quoad potui restitit; agrum Picentem & Galicum viritim contra senatus auctoritatem dividenti.* CICERO de Senectute, c. 4.

IF I am not mistaken, you told me, that your friends intended to favour me with the sight of their compositions on those subjects, at the time when we should be visiting the antiquities which are said to be still remaining on the summit of the *Alban* mountain. Dear sir, we are now in the neighbourhood of that place, why may we not suspend our journey to *Rome* till to-morrow morning, and in the mean time take an evening's ride to that spot?

* * *

CRITO's proposal being complied with, the company ordered their horses, and in about an hour's time arrived at the town of *Rocca del Papa*. That town stands on a rock, half way up the steep and woody northern side of the mountain of *Alba*. From thence an antient paved road (better preserved perhaps than any other in *Italy*) winds up to the summit. The company, during the slow ascent, had frequent opportunities to admire the extensive prospect. In pity to their horses they at length alighted, and walked up to the top. In that *most august situation* the celebrated temple of *Jupiter Latialis* once stood.

BUT they found scarce any ruins of it visible, excepting only some traces of its foundations:
among

Chap. II. ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. 235

among which a little solitary monastery, or rather hermitage, is now placed.

HOWEVER disappointed we may be, said *Crito*, in relation to the remains of antient architecture, which we might justly expect to have found in such a place as this; yet I am very glad, on several accounts, that we have come hither this afternoon.

THIS mountain was, next after the *Capitoline* hill, the principal seat of religion to the *Roman* nation.

BESIDES, in our present course of *Roman* studies, we are just now arrived at those times, when 231. *C. Papirius* first introduced the custom of ascending in *triumph* to this temple.

BUT I am tired with our walk, permit me to sit down on this bank, and here to listen with pleasure to your compositions.

YOUR servants will hold the horses at some distance; the poor monk, I see, is already employing himself in kindly getting some water for them; he will not understand our conversation on these beaten subjects, even if we spoke in *Italian*. After
you

236 ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. Book. II.

you have favoured me with your compositions, we may, if you please, make him a short visit in his cell *.

At the unanimous desire of the whole company, the youngest and noblest of these *British* youths was the first who spoke.

LITTLE did I imagine, said he, that I should ever have been made happy by such an employment as this ; my abilities indeed being very unequal to it, and my attention, since my arrival at *Rome*, having been chiefly given to the history, not
of

* The monk who lived here in the year 1760, was (if I am not mistaken) one of the society called *Passionisti*.

The *Passionisti* were a set of priests and monks, who some few years ago formed themselves into a society on the following account.

The poor country people, who cultivate the unwholesome parts of the *Roman* campagna, have but little ecclesiastical instruction ; few of the clergy chusing to venture into places where the air is of so pestilential and fatal a nature, especially to all persons not accustomed to it.

To supply this defect, these monks and priests voluntarily offered to go and settle in the worst parts of the country ; and, as they could have nothing before their eyes but certain death, they therefore took the name of *Passionisti*.

Most laudable and admirable was the excessive benevolence of this design ; but it was, by order of the *Roman* government, suspended ; it being thought, that the public ought to preserve the lives of those persons who could be so very generous.

On the suspension of the institution, *this* monk retired to the solitude of the religious house on the mountain of *Alba*.

Chap. II. ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. 237

of its virtues, but of its fine arts; a pleasing surely, however inferior study.

My thoughts have, you know, been almost constantly employed on the subject, either of sculpture or of painting. In each of those amiable sciences I have been for these four months past daily surrounded by many *chef d'œuvres*; which deserve the perpetual study of the most eminent artists; and which are capable of exciting at length the admiration even of the most ignorant spectator, such as myself.

BEFORE our kind tutor began his present course of lectures, I scarce ever had leisure or inclination to think on any of the great men of antient *Rome*, excepting those only who were patrons of the fine arts.

SUCH was *Marcellus*; he did not disdain the office of such a patronship, however glorious he might be in other *much superior* respects.

ON this account I have more than once given myself the pleasure to read his life in *Plutarch*, since our arrival at *Rome*; and on the same account, it was with particular satisfaction that I received last week at *Nettuno*, these papers relative to his character.

WHAT

WHAT I have now to say on that subject is (as it ought to be) almost totally borrowed from these papers of our good tutor : but, as he doubtless expects that I should have been industrious enough to add something of my own on the occasion, I must desire, that in *those* parts of my *declamation*, (let me call it by that name of our *college* exercises) I may be heard with the same politeness, candour, good-nature, and friendly indulgence, with which I have been always favoured by this company.

MARCELLUS.

MARCELLUS was of a *plebeian* family : but his reputation from his earliest youth was such, as probably put to the blush many of the most noble *Patritian* youths his contemporaries.

DURING his first campaign, in one of the bloody battles of the *first Punic* war, he (though then, if I am not mistaken, a mere stripling) shielded and saved the life of his beloved brother, with the most manly fortitude. For this noble action he was immediately crowned with military honours by his general.

IN the following years of his life, his merit was continually shining forth with augmented splendor ;
all

all ranks of men seem to have united in his applause. He was chosen curule ædile by the people, and elected into the college of *Augurs* by the priests.

BUT it is much more to his glory, that his virtues were uncorrupted by pride, and were continually increasing together with his honours and his years.

DURING the important war with the *Cisalpine Gauls*, we find *Marcellus* not only advanced to the consulship, but intrusted also with the most honourable privilege of chusing his brother consul and colleague. He made the noblest use of this privilege, by immediately fixing his choice on *Scipio*, the father of the great *Africanus*. 222.

POLYBIUS says, that at this time the *Gauls* offered to submit to any conditions, but that these consuls prevailed to have all thoughts of peace rejected. A great stain on their memory, if true; but let us remember, on the other hand, that *Plutarch* is of opinion, that the *Gauls* themselves were the cause of the rupture of all pacific measures.

As to the particulars of the conduct and courage of *Marcellus* in the following campaign, perhaps it will be needless (says our kind tutor in these papers

papers which I have in my hands) to trouble this company with a repetition of them.

BUT few months are elapsed, since, *while at Milan*, you recollected with pleasure, that *under the walls of that great city* he routed the enemies of his country; and saved from destruction the army of his illustrious brother consul.

STILL less time is passed, since, while on the banks of the *Po*, in the neighbourhood of the old *Clastidium*, you enquired for *that* field, in which *Marcellus* signalized his fortitude by his defeat of the numerous *Gallic* army, and by his personal engagement with its king.

THIS *Cisalpine* campaign is considered, both by the poets and historians of antiquity, as a very splendid part of the history of our hero; but, as our travels through *Lombardy* have so lately reimpresed on our minds the memory of its great events, you will pardon me if I do not dwell any longer upon it; especially as in the very next year after *Marcellus's* victory at *Clastidium*, a much greater antagonist rose against him.

HANNIBAL then entered on his government of *Spain*.

THAT

THAT great name cannot fail to draw and engage your chief attention.

HANNIBAL, soon after his nomination to that government, defeated one hundred thousand Spaniards on the banks of the *Tagus*; besieged the great city of *Saguntum* with an army of one hundred and fifty thousand men; and marched from *Carthagera* with amazing rapidity to *Lombardy*. Expectations indeed of supplies and assistance from *Lombardy* seem to have been his principal motives for crossing the *Alps*, and invading *Italy* on that side.

IN regard to *Hannibal's* famous passage over the *Alps*, continued the worthy young nobleman, I remember to have been favoured with much pleasing instruction from you, dear sir, and from your learned pupil; I mean, during our slow but not tedious week's journey from *Lyons* to *Turin*; while you were daily explaining to me the natural history of that wonderful region.

MANY judicious *Polybian* reflections also, in regard to the following actions of *Hannibal*, have I heard from this my other dear fellow-traveller.

WHEN we were together in *Lombardy*, in the neighbourhood of *Placentia*, we crossed the broad bed of the *Trebia*, on purpose that we might

survey the adjoining field of battle. We afterwards, *when in Tuscany*, with the same curiosity descended from the high hill of *Cortona* to the *Thrasimene* lake; and passed some hours in the fields near *Ostiaia* and *Sanguineto*; those two villages, whose names are perhaps memorials of the
 217. dreadful havock made there of *Flaminius's* army. Probably, in our *Neapolitan* journey, I shall have the melancholy pleasure of attending you, my dear friends, to the plains of *Cannæ* also*.

BUT let me not wander too far from my present subject: let me return to our tutor's papers.

It seems *highly* to the honour of *Marcellus*, that, immediately after the battle of *Cannæ*, the *Roman* senate should call him from the post on the sea-coast, where he was stationed, and should entrust to him the command of the troops at *Canusium*; the *only* army which the republic then had to oppose to its victorious and formidable enemy.

To *Canusium*, which, is in the neighbourhood of *Cannæ*, *Marcellus* then hastened with the utmost dispatch.

* Great as the military abilities of *Hannibal* were, yet for the honour of *Greece* it ought not to be forgotten how much he was assisted in all these victories by a *Spartan*.

Hannibal Italiam petiturus Lacedæmonium doctorem quæsitæ armorum; cujus monitis tot consules tantasque legiones inferior numero ac viribus interemit.

VEGETIUS de re militari. Prol. ad Lib. iii.

dispatch. But as to the particular actions of this and several other of his campaigns against *Hannibal*, there is no occasion for us to endeavour to examine them minutely; they are probably very proper subjects for the study of a young officer; they may be highly worthy of the comment of such a writer as *Folard*; but for this company, (whose education has been in sciences totally different from that of the art military) it will be sufficient to observe only on the whole, that *Marcellus*, by the example of his own daring resolution, mixed with the greatest conduct, (such as became a general of his known abilities and long experience) was able to change the whole face of that dreadful war.

HE dispelled the general consternation of the *Roman* armies; he awakened their antient intrepidity; he filled them with an eager desire to meet again in the field their lately reputed invincible enemies; and with a most unshaken resolution never to yield, *even to Hannibal himself*.

IN how many repeated most obstinate engagements did he struggle *with him* for victory, being never thoroughly conquered, and sometimes rather victorious? With what invincible fortitude and indefatigable industry, did he earn *from that his great antagonist* the elogium, that *Marcellus* was

the only man, who, when conqueror, never took any rest himself; and when conquered, never gave any to his enemy; adversity always inspiring him with fresh and firmer fortitude, and urging him on to perseverance in new labours? *Quotidie simul orientem solem, & Romanam aciem duce Marcello in campis videndam esse.*

THIS noble elogium on *Marcellus*, while living, was greatly increased by the still more noble manner in which the last honours were paid to him when dead, by the same great *Carthaginian*.

MARCELLUS was cut off by an unexpected accident, the consequence of the only rash action for which he was perhaps ever culpable. *Hannibal*, on the news of this unexpected event, rode up to the place, and admired his corpse, while lying on the field: *without uttering the least insulting expression over it, or shewing the least kind of joy at the fall of him who was so great and formidable an adversary.*

HANNIBAL had on former occasions been constantly attentive in ordering the proper funeral honours to be paid to the bodies of several *Roman* generals, particularly of *Paulus* and *Gracchus*. But of *Marcellus*, he himself performed the burial rites in the most magnificent manner; adorning his pile with

Chap. II. MARCELLUS. 245

with the noblest ornaments, and with the greatest respect sending the ashes to his son at *Rome*, in an urn of silver covered with a crown of gold.

Magnanima invidiâ virtus caret.

WHEN we consider this, and some other actions of *Hannibal*, have we not reason to wish that *his* life also had been written by *Plutarch*?

PLUTARCH, with proper sincerity, candour, and concern, would certainly have acknowledged the real blots in *Hannibal's* character; but it is equally certain, that he would also have done full justice to all the bright parts of it. He would have been *peculiarly diligent* in acquainting the reader with all his acts of humanity and generosity of heart; for even *Hannibal* was sometimes generous and humane; we should then probably have seen the *scales* of the virtues and vices of this famous *Carthaginian* held with impartiality.

IN reading indeed the lives of *Plutarch*, I frequently think of that *balance*, which *des Piles* contrived for *weighing* the excellencies and defects of the famous characters in painting. *Plutarch* perhaps has done what *des Piles* proposed.

246 ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. Book II.

PARDON, dear sir, all these digressions. I am so little practised in composition, that it is no wonder if I am perpetually falling into these and into other much greater faults. Permit me to talk in my own common way.

SOME few weeks past, while you, dear sir, and your good pupil were otherwise engaged, (in a work, as I afterwards found, of great though concealed charity) I persuaded the eldest of my two dear friends to take a morning's airing with me in the coach from our lodgings on our beloved *Monte Pinciano*, to that place, *ad portam Capenam*, which is supposed to have been the situation of the splendid temple erected by *Marcellus* to *Honour* and to *Virtue*. We found indeed there nothing but some shapeless and uncertain ruins; however the morning's airing was, chiefly owing to his conversation on the subject, very pleasant. On our return to our lodgings we retired to our several apartments. He with fresh ardour resumed his patriotic studies: and I sat down to amuse myself as usual, with some of the drawings of antient architecture and sculpture which lay on my table.

WHILE I was thus employed, I recollected that mention is made by some of the antient writers, of a monument that was erected to the memory of *Marcellus*. If that monument was built soon after his

his death, it was (I thought) most likely to have been a square sepulchre of *Tiburtine* stone, according to the mingled grandeur and simplicity of the *Roman* works in those times; if later, it might more probably be a pillar or triumphal arch.

I took up then the drawing of that magnificent triumphal arch, through which we had just passed, (*I mean that of Constantine*) and indulged myself during the remainder of the morning in the following *reverie*.

If such a triumphal arch had been erected to the memory of *Marcellus*, in what manner might it be supposed to have been most properly adorned?

A PROPER subject for one of its richest bas-reliefs would certainly be the erection or dedication* of the temple to *Honour* and to *Virtue*. You remember the figures of those goddesses on the consular coins of the *Cordian* family.

THE other square bas-reliefs within the arch, and on each of its fronts and sides, might contain the various heroisms of *Marcellus* against the

T 4

Carthagi-

* The dedication of the temple was performed by the son of *Marcelus*, about three years after the death of his father.

248 ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. Book II.

Carthaginians during the first and second *Punic* wars.

THE four *tondi*, or round compartments on the northern front, might represent the principal actions of the war in *Lombardy*, and the triumph of *Marcellus* carrying the *opima spolia*.

BUT how superior would be the subjects of the four rich *tondi* on the southern *facciata*? In what beauty of sculpture may we imagine the *Sicilian* heroisms of *Marcellus* to be there described?

-IN one of these compartments he might appear, as he did in the hour of the storming of *Syracuse*; that is, preserving the lives and liberties of all its citizens, and saving the city itself from utter destruction. He lamented, it is said, the other calamities of war, which it was not in his power to prevent; and even shed tears at the fall of that city, during the long triennial siege of which he and his whole army had suffered so much.

IN saying this, my dear friends, I do not intend a panegyrick indiscriminately on all the actions of those *Sicilian* campaigns. *Livy* himself speaks with some doubt of the conduct of the *Romans* in relation to the unhappy city of *Enna*; and in regard to *Syracuse*, I am sure none of this company ever
perused

perused the history of its fall, without some heart-felt concern; a concern, that will be greatly revived, if ever we should ourselves visit that city, and view the desolate ruins on the shore of *Acradina*.

You will consider how far the conquest of *Syracuse* was founded in justice: it is said to have been against the faith of treaties, that the *Syracusan* government had taken arms against *Rome*; and with the greatest obstinacy that they had refused all proposals for peace. Its fall also was softened, by what appeared to be the greatest moderation and humanity, the greatest clemency and commiseration in the conqueror. As such is the conduct of *Marcellus* described by many authors, particularly by *Plutarch*; who, as a *Grecian*, and as a man, doubtless felt much concern for the *Syracusans*. In those miserable times indeed, as our good tutor remarks in a note on this passage, the laws of war were far more stern and severe than at present in any part of *Christendom*.

BUT I must desire *you* to consider these questions; I am not capable of discussing them.

THE *second of the round compartments* might represent *Marcellus* looking with grief and reverence on the corpse of *Archimedes*. I have ventured

rured myself to sketch out something of such a design: you will recollect with pleasure the antient bas-relief from whence I have copied the principal figure.

THE company now took some time to consider their noble friend's drawing, and to admire its real merit, it being designed according to the true *Grecian* taste. From that subject the conversation wandered for some minutes on the character of *Archimedes*; *Crito* taking this opportunity to observe, that his character seemed to be a very instructive example both to gentlemen and to scholars.

I do not exactly remember, said he, but perhaps *Dr. Barrow* may have considered it as such in his meditations on the duties of those stations; for though *Archimedes* was of the highest birth, yet was he one of the most diligent followers of study and science; and, on the other hand, though he had advanced very far into the heights and depths of theory, yet did he unite his demonstrations and discoveries practically with things of use; applying his mathematical studies to the benefit of his country.

BUT I believe I am mistaken as to *Dr. Barrow*, this is most probably an observation of some other author,

author, perhaps of *Monfieur Pascal*. But let me not interrupt you any longer.

MARCELLUS (continued the noble youth) did not confine his veneration of *Archimedes* merely to the ceremony of paying due honours to his remains. With kind earnestness he enquired after his surviving relations, and took the whole family under his most cordial protection and beneficent favour. For besides the general spirit of humanity and mercy which *Marcellus* is said to have breathed to all men, he was particularly moved in favour of *Archimedes's* family, by the high love which he bore to the philosophy, oratory, and all the other sciences of *Greece*, and by his admiration of all those who had excelled in them. For let me with pleasure add, that *Marcellus* was the first person who had the honour of introducing into this his country, a taste of all those elegant arts of *Greece*, which *Rome* afterwards admired and imitated, but never could equal.

*Excudent alii spirantia mollius æra ;
(Credo equidem) vivos ducent de marmore vultus ;
Orabunt causas melius ; cælique meatus
Describent radio, & surgentia sidera dicent.*

THE third compartment might shew him, not in armour, but in his more venerable senatorial robes

robes of peace ; and might particularly represent that part of his history, when he was accused by the *Syracusans* of cruelty in the conquest of their city. An accusation most unjustly formed ; for such is said to have been his goodness and benignity to all states and communities, as well as to private persons, that if in the course of the war any thing cruel or even severe had happened, it was justly chargeable, not on *Marcellus*, but on the conduct of the sufferers themselves. With the greatest calmness he, according to *Plutarch*, gave them leave to prefer their accusation to the senate, and with the greatest modesty submitted to his trial. For it was in battle only that *Marcellus* shewed that fierceness, with which his courage inspired him ; on all other occasions he was most modest and courteous. On his acquittal he sincerely forgave the *Syracusans* for this injury and affront, received them under his protection, and with the greatest candour and condescension continued always to take all opportunities of conferring on his accusers and their fellow-citizens all the good offices in his power.

BUT what subject shall we imagine for the sculpture of the *fourth* and last compartment ?

WHAT more noble, than the triumphal procession and sacrifice on this very hill ?

To

To this *Alban* hill *Marcellus* ascended in triumph not (as was usually the case) from a motive of opposition to the senate, but in obedience to it. It was a standing order of the *Roman* senate, not to allow a triumph *in Rome* to any person, who had not been either *dictator*, *consul*, or *prætor*, at the time of the victories obtained*. If I am not mistaken, *Marcellus* was only *pro-consul* at the taking of *Syracuse*.

I WISH I was able to offer to you some proper reflections on this subject, especially while you are in this place.

IF any person in this company, except myself, were now the speaker, it would have been observed with due dignity both of thought and language, that it was *along the pavement of this very road* that *Marcellus* ascended in triumph; that it was *in the area of this temple* (on the ruins of which you are now sitting) that he offered his thanksgiving sacrifice to heaven.

IF our good tutor in particular had been now the speaker, he probably would have treated these subjects in such a manner, that the idea of them might long have had its full and proper effect on your minds.

I AM

* Vide LIVII, lib. xxxi. c. 20.

I AM the more inclined to this opinion, as I find among the papers with which he favoured me at *Nettuno*, the following memorandum, with which I shall conclude.

“ ON the hill of *Alba*, *Marcellus* offers to heaven
 “ his thanksgiving sacrifice for his late victory ;
 “ that victory, which certainly must be most agree-
 “ able in the sight of HIM, who is the real father
 “ of all the inhabitants of heaven and earth ; that
 “ noblest of victories, (if *Silius Italicus*’s elegium
 “ on it be true)

—— ubi parcere victis

“ *Pro prædâ fuit ; Et sese contenta, nec ullo*

“ *Sanguine pollutis plaussit victoria pennis* *.”



It was now the turn of *Crito*’s pupil to speak, he being next in juniority ; but instead of an oration, he with a proper filial respect presented to his tutor a *poetical* exercise, being an elegiac ode on the consul *L. Æmilius Paulus*.

THE ode opened with a deep lamentation on the miseries of war, exemplified by a view of the plain of *Cannæ*, on the morning after the battle.

IN

* Vide SILII ITALICI, lib. xiv. v. 675.

IN the midst of slaughtered legions lay the
Roman consul,

*Fallen, Fallen, Fallen,
And well'ring in his blood.*

To *infuse* still more pity, his amiable qualities were then described ; his constant probity of life and manners ; his love of retirement ; his sincere reluctance in accepting a post of such high dignity ; his great services while in it ; his patient fortitude under the injuries and calumnies with which he was loaded by his ungrateful countrymen, during both his consulships. These parts of his character were related with the purest simplicity and elegance. In a more sublime stile was sung his magnanimity in the midst of the utmost dangers ; and his anxiety, even during the agonies of death, for the safety of his country*. His life had, on all occasions, been devoted to the service of his beloved country, and it was now lost in her defence.

TOWARDS the conclusion of the ode, the poet digressed into a panegyric on the charity
of

* *Sedens in saxo cruore oppletus Consul ; Tu quidem, ait, Cn. Corneli, macte virtute esto ; sed cave frustra miserando, ne exiguum tempus è manibus hostium evadendi amittas. Abi : nuncia publicè patribus, urbem Romam muniant ; ac, priusquam victor hostis adveniat, præsiidiis firment : privatimque Q. Fabio L. Æmilium præceptorum ejus memorem & vixisse & adhuc mori. Me in hâc strage militum meorum patere expirare ; ne aut reus iterum e consulatu sim ; aut accusator collegæ existam, ut alieno crimine innocentiam meam protegam.*

LIVII, lib. xxii. c. 49.

256 ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. Book II.

of *Busa* *. On this subject he poured forth the most noble and exalted sentiments ; sentiments worthy of the most poetic genius. He, at the same time, laid open, though without knowing it, the great goodness of his own heart.

THE eldest of the young gentlemen now rose from his seat ; with unaffected modesty he paused for some moments, fixing his eyes on the ground ; he then began his speech in the following manner:

OUR noble friend, who with his usual abilities opened this conference, has condescended to chuse, for the subject of his eloquence, a character of *plebeian* virtue. For my own part, greatly inferior as I am both in birth and rank, surely it ought to be with particular joy that I should take this opportunity of endeavouring to return the compliment, by exalting my attention to the high object of *patritian* merit.

FABIUS

* *Mulier Apula, nomine Busa, genere clara ac divitiis, eos qui à Cannis Canussum perfugerant (ad DECEM MILLIA hominum erant) frumento, veste, viatico etiam juvit. Pro quâ ei munitentiâ postea bello perfecto ab senatu honores habiti sunt.*

LIVII, lib. xxii. c. 52, 54.

In like manner, during the duke of Marlborough's wars in Flanders, Fenelon converted his archiepiscopal palace at Cambray into an hospital for the sick and wounded soldiery. Kenn also, among his innumerable good works, did something of the same kind at Wells after the battle of Sedgemore.

FABIUS MAX. VERRUCOSUS:

THE worthy person, to whom we have all in our education been most highly obliged, has observed in one of these papers, which I now hold in my hand; that *Polybius*, on his first mention of the name of *Fabius Maximus Verrucosus*, remarks that he was of *noble birth*, as well as of great abilities*.

NOBLE indeed was his birth, for he was son of *Fabius Maximus Gurges*, grandson of *Fabius Maximus Rullianus*, and descended consequently from a long line of most illustrious ancestors, whose pedigree is traced back much farther than the foundation of the *Roman* monarchy.

As to abilities, his character seems (according to our good tutor's observation) to answer to the idea of the truest greatness of mind: for the mind of *Fabius* was full of the highest fortitude; and that fortitude was always governed, and frequently covered by other still superior virtues: in the same manner as (to quote a late observation of our noble friend) in the antique statues at *Rome*, particularly

U in

* — Φαβιον ανδρα και φρονηδαι διαφεροντα και πισφυκοτα καλως. POLYB. lib. iii.

in those of *Apollo*, we frequently have seen the greatest strength covered by the greatest beauty.

THIS was remarkably the case even in his earliest youth; though full of this noble and hereditary spirit, yet even then did he happily and wisely chuse to shine in other still more noble qualities; in the greatest industry as to all his studies and exercises both of body and mind; and in the most remarkable sweetness and *lamb-like* meekness of temper to all his companions. It was from this happy temper of mind (in saying this the young orator turned towards *Crito's* pupil) that *Fabius* is said to have then acquired the name of *Ovicula*.

IF we view him afterwards when in full manhood, or even towards the decline of life, we shall find the same spirit continue in vigour, though always under the government of the same wisdom.

WHENEVER the public welfare would allow it, then indeed he always shewed *the most ardent courage*. With the greatest intrepidity he accepted the government in the most dangerous times; he fronted *Hannibal* in the field of battle. In the general dejection after the defeat and slaughter of *Cannæ*, he was almost the only person *then in Rome* who shewed no fear. But at other seasons, when the state of the nation, though to outward appearance

Chap. II. F. MAX. VERRUCOSUS. 259

ance more flourishing, yet in reality required the greatest prudence and caution in its governors, then this wise statesman resolutely reined in his own daring spirit, as well as that of his countrymen.

WITH the most invincible patience he bore their murmurs; he willingly, for their sakes, suffered them to brand him even with the name of *coward*, according to that noble maxim, "You are welcome to abuse me, only permit me to labour even to death to be of some service to you, and to your children."

FABIUS was not only thus calm and immovable by the clamours and accusations of his most violent rivals; he afterwards, with the greatest magnanimity, saved the lives and protected the reputations of those very men. His generosity indeed both to *Varro* and to *Minutius*, can scarcely be too much studied and admired.

THE noble gratitude of *Minutius* (for he was conquered by the goodness of *Fabius*, and his heart was converted to a worthy and noble gratitude) deserves also great commendation. In this I have the satisfaction to be conscious that I am speaking *your* sentiments. (*In saying this he bowed to Crito*). From the papers now in my hand, I

should be inclined to think, that there is scarce any subject of meditation more welcome or pleasing to *your* mind, than that of such an instance of a person reclaimed and converted by the kindness of the worthy man whom he had mistakingly opposed.

OFTEN have I had occasion to be sensible of my great defects both in language and elocution, but perhaps never more than at present; I have in my hands materials for the noblest oration, but my tongue is deficient.

OTHER parts of the history of *Fabius*, how pleasing have they been to your *pious* and *good* heart! With what satisfaction did you insert in these notes the following observation!

THOUGH *Fabius* took much care to fill the troops under his command with all the true *Roman* spirit and courage, yet he took still greater care to instruct them, that valour would be of no use without the favour of heaven; which to obtain, was their first duty, and after the obtaining of which no enemy was to be feared. *Polybius* and *Plutarch* both observe, that when *Fabius* marched against *Hannibal*, his first care was to sacrifice to heaven.

NOR

Chap. II. F. MAX. VERRUCOSUS. 261

NOR will it be a small additional pleasure to the *benevolent* mind, both of yourself, and of your *good* pupil, now to recollect, that though *Fabius* supported with proper dignity his high authority as general, and as dictator, yet his heart melted at the hardships even of the most common soldiers ; and with joy did he sell his whole property to ransom those in captivity from the hands of their *African* enemies.

PARDON me, dear sir, replied *Crito*, if I for a moment interrupt your oration. I ought not to sit still in silence, and patiently listen to compliments of which I am unworthy ; they are, I am confident, the sincere sentiments of your good and friendly heart, but I do not deserve them, nor ought to hear them. In the sequel of your oration, permit me to beg that you will fix the attention of the company to other subjects.

PERMIT me also to observe at present, that a descendant of *Fabius Maximus*, a *Roman* matron named *Fabiola*, who lived many ages after his times, shewed in a most remarkable manner the same generosity of spirit, which, as *you* well observe, thus warmed the heart of this her great ancestor. During her life-time, she gave up every thing that she possessed (and her family estate was at that time very great) entirely to the relief of the poor and afflicted.

It is also very remarkable, that this same *Roman* matron was * *the first person who ever erected an hospital for the sick*; and that thus the first example of all those most charitable institutions (which are at present such blessings to the inhabitants of *Europe, Asia, Africa, and America*) was given to the world by the house of *Fabius*.—But pray proceed, and, with your usual kindness, excuse this interruption,

THE young gentleman now paused for some moments, the modesty of *Crito* having checked the course in which his oration was flowing; he recovered himself however with tolerable presence of mind, and casting his eyes on the notes in his hand, proceeded as follows.

THE beloved son of *Fabius* was cut off in the flower of his age, and height of his promotion; *Fabius* attended his urn to the sepulchre, with the magnanimity of the most undaunted *Roman* hero; yet, at the same time did he condescend not a little to moderate and sweeten this his fortitude, by many marks of the most paternal affection and piety,

FABIUS himself spoke the funeral oration. This speech was preserved to the times of *Plutarch*,
and

* See the life of *Fabiola* written by St. *Jerome*. If that writer had foreseen the long duration of the *Fabian* family, he would probably have thought, that it was the reward of her charity.

Chap. II. F. MAX. VERRUCOSUS. 263

and was then greatly admired, as full of weight of sense, and strength of eloquence; such as that of the funeral oration in *Thucydides*. It was also observed to be exactly corresponding and suitable to the character of the speaker. *Tully* himself admires it, though he seems to have considered it more in a philosophical than in a rhetorical light. *Multa in Fabio præclara; sed nihil admirabilius, quàm quomodo ille mortem tulit filii, clari viri & consularis. Est in manibus laudatio, quam cum legimus quem philosophum non contemnimus *?*

PERHAPS it is much to be wished, that this oration of *Fabius* on his son, or that which was spoke on *Fabius* himself, (*while, as father of the nation, he was carried at the public expence to his grave*) had been preserved to this time. Funeral oratory has indeed too frequently, both in antient and modern times, rendered itself very contemptible by its falsehood and flattery. But surely such a subject as that of the character of *Fabius* would have been sufficient to have supported the dignity of eloquence, without having any recourse to fiction or palliation.

WITH what energy indeed might a true orator dwell on the many glorious parts of the life of this hero!

U 4

WITH

* *Cato Major de senectute, c. 4.*

264 ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. Book II.

WITH what splendor of rhetoric might he describe him, as joined with *Marcellus* in the direction of the counsels, and command of the armies of his country; and *Rome* thus appearing in the greatest majesty like *Minerva*, armed with such a sword, and with such an ægis!

WITH more sedate eloquence might he represent him filling his seat as father of the *Roman* parliament: for towards the latter end of his life he was chosen *princeps senatûs*. *Princeps enim tum erat Romanæ civitatis vel Annibale judice* *.

IN that high office *Fabius Verrucosus* may perhaps (like his grandfather *Rullianus*) not improperly be compared to the *Homeric Nestor*.

——— *Componere lites*
Inter Peliden festinat, & inter Atriden.

IMMEDIATELY after the death of *Marcellus*, *Claudius Nero* and *M. Livius* were elected consuls. It is unnecessary now to speak of their characters †, or

* Vide *LIVII*, lib. xxvii. c. 11.

† *M. Livius*, eleven years before, was partaker of the consulship with *L. Paulus*: he was partaker also of his unjust sentence and condemnation. He lived afterwards in retirement for several years. (Vid. *LIVY*, lib. xxvii. c. 34.) According to *Rollin's* good observation, it seems probable, that his speech to *Fabius*, on setting out for his province, is not genuine.

C. Nero

Chap. II, F. MAX. VERRUCOSUS. 265

or of the extreme consequence of their consulships to the welfare of *Rome*; you thoroughly considered that subject, when in your journey last autumn you passed through the city of *Fano*, and from thence visited the banks of the *Metro*.

Testis Metaurum flumen, & Asdrubal

Devictus, & pulcher fugatis

Ille dies Latio tenebris

Qui primus almâ risit adorâ.

THAT great victory which saved *Rome*, is indeed to be attributed chiefly to *C. Nero*: *Livius* also had a very considerable share in it: in fact it was gained by their united counsels and labours. But let it be also remembered, that *Fabius* was the principal cause of that concord, and of that union. *Inimicitiae enim inter eos nobiles erant: De reconciliatione autem eorum principium factum est in senatu, a Q. Fabio Maximo.*

How fatal might have been the consequence to this country, if they, during their consulships, had been as much divided, as they were before and afterwards!

Η ΚΕΝ γηθησοι Πριάμῳ, Πριάμοιο τε παῖδες.

ON

C. Nero seems to be one of the principal *Roman* characters in military merit. His modesty also, particularly at his triumph, was very exemplary. *Consociatus triumphus cum utriusque consuli, tum magis Neroni, qui quantum merito anteibat, tantum honore collegæ cesserat. gloriam auxit.* LIVY, lib. xxviii. c. 9.

ON these parts of the history of *Fabius*, the orator would justly expatiate with great pleasure. But how would he grieve, that it was not in his power to be silent on the cruelty (for it must be called by that name) at *Tarentum*! How strongly would he join his wishes to those of *Plutarch*, that *Fabius* had there imitated the humanity which *Marcellus* shewed at *Syracuse*! *Livy* indeed prefers *Fabius*, on account of his not having taken away the statues of the gods from the temples of *Tarentum*: but surely, surely, it would have been much more to his true honour, if he had preserved the human race, the living, the most noble image of God.

LET us however, in justice to *Fabius*, recollect, that when afterwards the cause of the *Tarentines* was tried in the *Roman* senate, *Fabius* was their advocate; and defended them from such a total ruin as had crushed the inhabitants of *Capua*. Let us also from thence, as well as from other parts of his character, infer, that most probably that slaughter was to be attributed to the fury of the soldiery, and not to the order of the general.

TOWARDS the latter end of his life, *Fabius* behaved in such a manner to *Scipio*, as to have put it in doubt, whether he was jealous of his rising glory; or whether he opposed his designs
of

Chap. II. F. MAX. VERRUCOSUS. 267

of invading *Afric*, merely from motives of caution and care for the safety of *Rome*. For it is to be remembered, that *at that time Mago* had taken *Genoa*, and *Hannibal* was still in the kingdom of *Naples*.

On considering the whole, you perhaps will be inclined to follow in great measure the judgment of *Plutarch*. You will candidly think, that *Fabius's* opposition to *Scipio* rose at first, merely from that caution which was remarkable in him during former years; and which probably, according to the common effect of old age, was now greatly increased. By the length however of that contest and opposition, *Fabius* seems to have fallen into the failings of that time of life, moroseness and peevishness. That these were then the motives of his conduct, you will be much more inclined to think, than to attribute them to any mean jealousy of glory, which seems not at all correspondent either with his former character, or with that of his family. *Rullianus alios ad suam gloriam consurgentes lætus aspexit* *.

BUT may the few unworthy parts of the history of *Fabius* be buried in perpetual oblivion! May his virtues, unsullied by such a mixture, be duly honoured and imitated by us!

LET

* *LIVY*, lib. x. c. 13,

LET us not uncharitably dwell on the infirmities of so great a man, when advanced to near his ninetieth year: but let us consider his former course of life, particularly his wise and steady conduct when regulated by sound skill and judgment: a conduct, far superior to all those rash and impetuous fallies, which result from mere personal bravery, and a vain desire of popular applause. His motto then was, *Contemnendo potius, quàm appetendo, gloriam* *.

LET us duly consider the great weight of those two virtues, which by *Polybius* are esteemed the two real sources of all the greatness of *Rome*, and in each of which *Fabius* was so eminent; I mean, unshaken constancy in the heaviest adversity; and prudent moderation when in a more prosperous state.

SATISFIED with giving to *Fabius* his just praise for these virtues, a true orator would not weaken the panegyric by the addition of any other imaginary excellencies. *In omnibus enim, quæ dicit orator, necesse est; cum majestas insit, tum fides.* Much less ought he to endeavour, by a partial comparison of this character with those of the other

* *Quem neque vana gloria, neque falsa movit infamia. Veritas enim laborat, sed extinguitur nunquam. Gloriam, qui spreverit, veram habet.*

Chap. II. F. MAX. VERRUCOSUS. 269

other contemporary heroes of *Rome*, to exalt the merit of *Fabius*, by depreciating theirs. As far as justice would allow, he would pay great respect and honour to all their memories.

YOUR good pupil, sir, has informed us, that you intend to favour this company to-morrow with the character of *Scipio Africanus*; but though the glory of *Scipio* may far outshine that of all his contemporary heroes, as far as that of his patron *Jupiter* (to whom was dedicated this temple, where we now stand) was supposed to excel that of all the other heathen deities; yet as, notwithstanding this pre-eminence of *Jupiter*, altars and temples were erected to *Neptune* (as on *that* neighbouring sea-coast), to *Hercules* (as on *those* neighbouring mountains of *Tivoli*), to *Apollo* (as on *that* distant hill of *Soracte*), to *Diana* (as in *these* adjoining forests of *Algidum*), so without doubt, notwithstanding this pre-eminence of *Scipio*, you will earnestly desire that we should pay proper honour to the memory of many other contemporary *Roman* heroes, particularly to *Marcellus* and *Paulus*; especially at this time, while the prospect of the country for which they shed their blood, is so widely and so magnificently spread before our view.

NOR

NOR is less honour perhaps due to *Fabius*; for surely a long life worn out in the public service, is at least equal to a death in her cause.

PARDON, sir, this warmth; but indeed, when from this hill I view *there* the city of *Rome*, and *here* (on the field to which I now point, a little above the town of *Rocca di Papa*) the place of the camp of *Hannibal*, I cannot speak with coolness of *their* names, who defended the *Roman* state, while the dreadful storm of the *Punic* war hung on *these* hills, or ravaged *those* plains.

THIS, in some sense, was the *peculiar* glory of *Fabius Maximus Verrucosus*. *This* puts him in an higher light than most of the other heroes of his country.

FOR be it above all things remembered, that it was not by any foreign expedition, it was not by extending the dominions of *Rome*, that *Fabius* gained so glorious a name. It was by his services to his country, in that most just of all military labours, a *defensive* war.

CHAP. III.

EIGHTH DAY'S CONVERSATION.

THE whole company had of late given such diligent and constant attention to their studies of the *Roman* history, that when they got into their coach this morning at *Rocca di Papa*, *Crito* thought it highly proper to turn the conversation on *another* subject. Cautious of wearying the patience of his young friends, by continually keeping their thoughts in the same train, he sought the *most different* topicks; for several miles he spoke of nothing but what might be an *amusing relaxation* to their minds, or might produce some innocent mirth; he intended thus to pass the whole day, if possible without the mention of any one *Roman* hero.

BUT scarce was the coach come down into that broad plain, in the midst of which *Rome* is situate, when the eldest of the young gentlemen recalled the conversation to its usual objects. He pointed out to his companions, from the coach-window on the left, the distant view of the long row of antient sepulchres on the *Appian* way. They approached nearer and nearer to that road, and entered it about a
mile

mile before they came to the gates of *Rome*; during all this time his thoughts were still more and more busied in recollecting the noble actions of several *Roman* patriots; particularly in the illustrious period of the second *Punic* war, which he had been lately studying at *Nettuno*.

How usefully instructive, said he, is the description given by historians of the manners of that age! Our own *English* history indeed abounds with many shining instances of patriotic fortitude and generosity in times of public danger; but I know not which period of it we may justly compare with this part of the annals of *Rome*. Never was the *Roman* state really so strong, as in the midst of the war of *Hannibal*. *Caritas enim patriæ per omnes tum ordines, velut tenore uno, pertinebat.*

FOR is it not true, that at this time *the rich men in the city*, unwearied by the length of this expensive war, *persevered* in supporting the public credit at the hazard of their own fortunes; and that *in the army*, at perhaps more than one urgent crisis of national distress, not a single officer would accept his pay?

THE equestrian order, which perhaps we may be allowed to consider as the *gentry* of *Rome*, shewed by their actions how truly generous the sentiments

Chap. III. ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. 273

sentiments were by which they were animated. But peculiarly active were *the members of the Roman parliament*, in the defence and preservation of their country, which was peculiarly committed to *their* care. Their harangues from the *Rostra* were the natural language of ardent magnanimity ; their deliberations within the doors of the senate-house, were full of firmness and prudence.

ON the other hand, this was the time when the *Roman* parliament, that body of wise men, had more credit than ever with the people ; its principal members were heard and considered as oracles. With proper respect permit me to name *Sempronius Gracchus*, *Manlius Torquatus*, and that senator who was particularly anxious for the support of the public faith in the public debt, I mean, *Valerius Levinus*. Perhaps some of these ruined tombs, by which we are now passing, may contain their remains,

I COPIED from my pocket edition of *Livy*, one morning at *Nettuno*, some few lines ; which if you will give me leave, I will now read to you.

*Nemo eâ tempestate instructior civis habebatur,
P. Licinio. Congestis omnibus humanis à naturâ for-
tunâque bonis, nobilis idem ac dives erat ; formâ
viribusque corporis excellebat : facundissimus idem ha-
VOL. I. X bebatur,*

bebatur, seu in causâ orandâ, seu in senatu ad populum suadendi aut dissuadendi locus esset *. How pleasing a character would this seem to most young *Englishmen*, particularly to those whose view lay towards the house of Commons ?

BUT if in selecting these lines I have consulted too much my own taste ; I have the satisfaction to think that the following extracts will be very acceptable both to yourself, and to your good pupil. Pardon me, dear sir, I mean no compliment. Your pupil very well knows, that we are at present near the burying-place of the *Servilian* family †. He also may recollect, that one of that family, towards the conclusion of the second *Punic* war, had the happiness of releasing his father and uncle from a long captivity of sixteen years. *Servilius, hinc patre, hinc patruo lateri circumdatis, privato magis quam publico decore insignis Romam rediit.* A spectacle (your good pupil will think) far more pleasing, than any of the pompous triumphs which ever entered this *Porta Capena*.

TOWARDS the conclusion of the same war, one of the fathers of the *Roman* parliament ‡ made a motion,

* Vid. *LIVY*, lib. xxx. c. i.

† Vide *TULLY*'s *Tusculan Questions*, book 1st, c. 7. *An tu egressus portâ Capenâ, cum Serviliorum sepulchra vides, &c.*

‡ *Mentione a senioribus factâ.* *LIVY.*

Chap. III. ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. 275

motion, the intent of which might be approved by any of the most reverend fathers on the bishop's bench. He moved, that the house should appoint a public and *devout* thanksgiving for the deliverance of *Italy* from the ravages of *Hannibal*.
Ne Segnius P. C. bona quàm mala sentiamus. Non solum advenientem gratiam recte accipiamus ; sed præteritarum etiam sumus memores.

* * *

THE coach now entering the gates of *Rome*, the conversation, by *Crito's* contrivance, took another turn. In about half an hour they arrived at the door of the *English* coffee-house, in the *Piazza di Spagna*; where they had the great satisfaction to hear, that, since their excursion to *Tivoli* and *Nettuno*, three *English* mails were arrived, and several parcels of letters sent to their lodgings.

To their lodgings they hastened with impatience. Nothing indeed seems a stronger sign of a good disposition in a young traveller, than the eager joy with which he receives letters from home. During the whole ensuing afternoon and evening, these worthy youths had scarce any other thoughts than what arose from the contents of the packets which they had the pleasure of receiving. On

those subjects they thought even in their dreams. This was peculiarly the case of *Crito's* pupil; during most part of the night he thought himself at home at his father's seat, surrounded by all his kind relations and friends; his wandering imagination then represented to him the places in the *neighbouring* country, with which from his earliest childhood he had been acquainted: he now thought himself walking in the long, romantic, and solitary path of *Dovedale*; now reposing in the rocky cell in the gardens of *Ilam*, close by the murmuring source of the subterranean stream; now viewing *Raphael's* beautiful Madona at *Okeover*, one of whose hands rests on her mother's shoulder, the other embraces her child; sweet emblem both of filial and parental love.



ON the following *Monday* morning the company met, according to appointment, in the *Colonna* gardens on the side of the *Monte Quirinale*, in which gardens the house of the *Cornelii* antiently stood.

FROM thence they proceeded together to the *Museum* on the *Capitoline* hill.

THE

Chap. III. ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. 277

THE *Capitoline Museum* stands opposite to the tribunals of the modern consuls, mentioned in the second chapter of the first book * ; it consists of several apartments ; but the company, instead of entering these, which they had often already visited, turned short on their right hand into the gallery at the top of the stair-case, and walked forward to that bust which is said to be the representation of *Scipio Africanus*.

LOOKING on this bust, the youngest of the company began to compare it with the basalto bust of the same hero, which is preserved in the *Aurora* apartment of the *Rospigliosi* palace, and which is generally esteemed the best on that subject of any now in *Rome*.

CRITO listened with particular attention to the observations of his noble young friend ; and then after some pause, began his morning's lecture in the following manner.

X 3

SCIPIO

* Vid. Page 43.

SCIPIO AFRICANUS.

Εργα γε παντ', ἢν τις αρχηται καλως,
 Και τας τελευτας ειη' εδ' ατως εχειν.

GREAT truth is there in that common observation, that every thing depends on the manner in which it is begun. If you are desirous of being good in your lives, you must labour to begin to be so in your youth. *Scipio's* life was almost one continued scene of good actions, yet there is no part of it more worthy of your imitation than the beginning. He begun indeed his course of glory with the noblest virtues; and rose upon the world with all the splendor of a *Guido's Aurora*.

218. AT *seventeen* years of age he greatly distinguished himself by that *filial piety* which was most nobly *hereditary* in his family. For, as you all know, *Publius Cornelius*, master of the horse to *Camillus*, acquired for himself and his descendants the name of *Scipio*, by being the kind supporter and staff (*Scipio*) of his dear father, then sinking under the misfortune of blindness, joined to the weakness of old age. This family character was greatly heightened and exalted by the hero now before us: he had indeed the great glory and happiness of

of even saving the life of his parent. When *Hannibal*, like an immense *avranche**, descended from the *Alps* on the *Roman* territories, it was the fortune and the choice of the brave consul, *Scipio's* father, to be first opposed to him. In the engagement the *Roman* troops gave way, the consul was dangerously wounded, and encompassed by the enemy; in that moment of urgent distress, young *Scipio* ardently rushed forwards,

ET GENITOR NATI PARMA PRO-
TECTUS ABIBAT.

WITH what pleasure, my dear fellow-travellers, did you think of this noble action, when (after having passed the *Alps*) in your voyage down the river *Tessin*, from the great lake to the *Po*, you passed by those fields, where after this action *Publius Scipio* τον μου σωτηρα προσεφωνησε?

SUCH, I well remember, was the quotation which the eldest of this company then made from *Polybius*. My pupil in the mean time took up *Silius Italicus*, which lay by him in the boat, and which he tells me he has found to be a very useful *antiquarian* book (however indifferent in

X 4

respect

* The *avranches* are great masses of snow; which, getting loose from the sides of the *Alps*, in their descent sweep away flocks and herds with irresistible violence; and sometimes bury whole villages, which lie in the valleys.

respect of poetry) in several parts of his journey through *Italy*: he took up that book, and read the following verses, some of which seem not unworthy of a much nobler poet.

— *Pietasque insignis, & ætas*
Belligeris fecit miranda silentia campis,
Tum celso e curru Mavors; Carthaginis arces
Exscindes, inquit, Tyriosque in fœdera coges:
Nulla tamen longo tanta exorietur in ævo
Lux tibi, chare puer! Maeste, o! Maeste indole sacra
Vera Jovis proles; & adhuc majora supersunt;
Sed nequeunt meliora dari.

PARDON me for this interruption: but, if I am not mistaken, dear sir, said the youngest of the company, the bust of *Scipio* in the *Albani* palace has on its forehead the representation of the scars, which this hero gained on that glorious occasion. But, pray, proceed. ;

AT the age of *nineteen* (continued *Crito*) *Scipio* saved his country from a calamity, which would have been perhaps the most dishonourable and most fatal of all the misfortunes with which it was then afflicted. He was one of the legionary
 216. tribunes at the battle of *Cannæ*. Scarce was that dismal day concluded, when *Scipio*, in the midst of that public distress and despair——But let me
 not

Chap. III. SCIPIO AFRICANUS. 281

not trouble you with the repetition of a story, which you recollect so nobly related by *Livy*, and other writers: perhaps it has been told on canvas also by some worthy hands: perhaps, dear sir, (in saying this *Crito* addressed himself to the young nobleman) some learned painter may with proper expression have represented his idea of the figure of young *Scipio* waving his sword over the head of his degenerate countrymen, and repeating with reverence the oath to *Jupiter*; that he would not, though at the utmost peril, ever desert the cause of his country. How properly placed would such a painting be in the picture-gallery on this hill; this *Capitoline* hill, which the noble genius of youth, even in the times of *Tarquin*, could never be induced to abandon?

*Di patrii, quorum semper sub numine Troja est,
Non tamen omnino Teucros delere paratis,
Cum tales animos juvenum, & tam certa tulistis
Pectora.*

AT three and twenty years of age, *Scipio* was executing his office of ædile here in *Rome*, when the dismal news arrived from *Spain* of the defeat 212. and death of his brave uncle and father.

FREQUENTLY have we, in the *Roman* history, read the greatest elogiums on the characters of
both

both those heroes. Each is described as a very intrepid and prudent general ; each, on these and on other accounts, was greatly lamented both by the *Romans* and *Spaniards*. *Cneius* particularly, who had longer commanded in that country, and was the first * who is said to have shewn there a specimen of *Roman* justice and temperance. How strongly did the virtues of both those heroes occur to your memory, at the very instant when you first entered the gates of *Rome* † ?

THE *Roman* armies in *Spain* would at that time probably have been totally destroyed, if it had not been for the amazing courage and conduct of the centurion *Marcus*. *Marcus* possessed indeed very great military abilities ; it is particularly related of him, that he had strengthened and improved an excellent genius by the instruction and example of both the *Scipios*, particularly of *Cneius*, under whom he had served many years. I could wish that the trophy of *Marcus*, the silver shield of

* *Cn. Scipio primus Romani nominis in eam provinciam venit.*
LIVII, lib. xxviii. c. 32.

† The materials of the outside of the *Porta del Popolo* are, in great part, marbles taken from the ruins of the pyramidal sepulchres, which were erected to the memory of these two heroes in the adjoining part of the *Campus Martius*. (Vid. *Silius Italicus*, lib. xiii.) It seems not improbable, that these two noble sepulchres were erected by the dutiful affection of *Africanus*, with the approbation of the *Roman* senate.

of *Asdrubal*, had been still preserved in this *Capitoline Museum* *.

ON the meeting of the *Comitia* in the *Campo Marzo*, in order to elect a military commander in *Spain*, as successor to the two *Scipios*, no candidate appeared for this most dangerous office: the people looked in vain on the senators: the senators and generals looked in vain one on each other. No one, in all that noble and numerous assembly, offered himself for the service of his country. A general silence. A general despondency.—Young *Scipio* then arose; (cannot you fancy to yourselves that you now see him in that attitude) he arose, and offered to follow the foot-steps of his brave father and uncle, though leading to such labours, dangers, and death.

NOR was this all; for (as soon as the universal acclamation of the whole assembly would permit it) he shewed to the magistrates as well as people, by his manner of speaking, that he had not only the spirit to offer himself for that dangerous and important office, but that also, by his study and application (which he had exemplarily continued without remission from his earliest youth) he had rendered

* *Monumentum victoriæ ejus de Pœnis usque ad incensum Capitolium fuit in templo clypeus Marcius appellatus, cum imagine Asdrubalis.* LIV. lib. xxv. c. 39.

rendered himself capable of executing it in the best and fullest manner.

CRITO was proceeding, when (some other persons, a set of *German* travellers, coming into that apartment of the *Museum*) the conversation was interrupted, and this *English* company obliged to retire to a smaller room on the right hand of the entrance of the gallery. This room, besides the many other curiosities with which it is adorned, contains a great number of antient busts, which are indeed valuable for their sculpture, but it is to be much regretted, that it is not known who were the particular persons of antiquity represented by them. It is remarkable, that among these *teste incognite* there is one which is very striking to all *Englishmen*, being said to be a very strong resemblance of general *Wolfe*. It was with great pleasure, that the young gentlemen first gave their attention to this. After some pause *Crito* observed, that in the wars between *Rome* and *Carthage*, *Spain* might be considered in something of the same light as *America*, in the wars between *France* and *England*. Nor was *Scipio's* conduct in *Spain* (continued he) unlike that of this almost equally youthful *British* hero in *America*. How low soever the *Roman* affairs in that province were reduced, when *Scipio* landed, yet he lost not his spirit, but to the general astonishment immediately

Chap. III. SCIPIO AFRICANUS. 285

diately carried the war to the gates of the enemy's capital in that country; and by the reduction of it, began his life of a general in the same manner and in the same glory, with which that of this *British* worthy was concluded and crowned. 210.

BUT if *Scipio* may be considered as a pattern to the heroes of such distant generations, it is still more useful to observe, that he himself diligently imitated the examples of the worthies of former ages. Most parts of his conduct, during his six years campaigns in *Spain*, for he finished the war in that extensive country before he was thirty years of age; his industry and fortitude, his prudence and temperance, (how strongly did we recollect this circumstance, when we saw at *Paris* his silver shield, on which the story of *Allucius* is engraved?) his generosity and liberality, his respectful and noble behaviour to *Marcus*, his great goodness to his own soldiers, and to the unhappy captives, seem to be exact transcripts of the noble military virtues recommended in the works of *Xenophon*, particularly in the character there drawn of *Cyrus the Great*.*

You

* That *Scipio Africanus Major* studied the *Greek* authors seems confirmed from what is said of his manner of life while in *Sicily*: for it is said, that he lived there in a *Greek* habit, libellis, palæstræque operam dans. LIVY, lib. xxviii. c. 17.

You will find also in them a strong imitation of the best parts of the history of *Alexander*: for it seems scarce possible to read the speech of the wife of *Mandonius*, and the answer of *Scipio*, without recollecting the *similar* behaviour of the *Macedonian* youth to the queen and daughters of *Darius*.

YET let me not be supposed to look with equal pleasure on every part of *Scipio's Spanish* campaigns; too much misery is there in that history; too much effusion of human blood. Dreadful was the destruction of *Illiturgis*; though that city seems indeed justly to have deserved from the hands of *Scipio* some heavy punishment, for its former cruelties to the *Romans*. Still more horrid was the massacre at *Astapa*; but let us remember, that it was occasioned not so much by the *Roman* inhumanity, as by the desperate fury of its own inhabitants. It is observable also, that *Scipio* was not at that time in that part of *Spain*.

BUT cursed is war in general, and all its histories. On such accounts often ought I to have groaned under these parts of our *Roman* studies; often ought I to look forward with earnestness to that happy time, when I shall be returned to the blessed studies of that science and of that profession of which I am unworthy.

Hail,

Chap. III. SCIPIO AFRICANUS. 287

*Hail, Holy Light ! Thee I revisit, glad
Escap'd the Stygian pool ; tho' long detain'd
In that obscure sojourn.*

So horrid are many parts of the *Roman* history, even in the life of *Scipio*, that I know not whether I ought to persevere in my present employment ; my time and labour (trifling as is their value to any person but myself) might perhaps be much better employed. I ought to be comforted however with the reflection, that the *Roman* history, bad as it is, contains several (*partially* at least) virtuous heathen characters ; and, what is far better, necessarily leads us, following the course of time, to the lives and characters of the best, the primitive Christians.

COMFORTED by the prospect of that light, however at present distant, let me patiently labour though my present toilsome road ; a road, as dismal as any night journey through fields of carnage.

Αν φονον, αν νεκυας, δια τ'ευτερα, και μελαν αιμα.

BUT to proceed. Far more satisfactory (though not thoroughly pleasing) is the conduct of *Scipio* in the affair of the rebellion of his own troops, and in the revolt of the ungrateful *Indibilis*. In
the

the first of these unexpected events, *Scipio* seated on his tribunal at *Carthagera*, is said to have taken the wise medium between rigour and indulgence; and to have let fall the punishment only on some few of the most seditious; *cum gemitu etiam & lacrymis, haud secus quàm viscera secans sua*. He pardoned all the rest; he even tempered his reprimand to them with much mildness.

As to *Indibilis*, though *Scipio* marched against him, *lato & erecto animo ad cædem*, (I wish all such expressions were expunged from the *Roman* historian) yet after totally defeating his forces, he pardoned him also. *Scipio* indeed, on that occasion, granted terms much more gentle than what the *Roman* generals usually imposed on their conquered enemies: he gave at the same time several strong proofs, that it was not from any timid motive that this extraordinary lenity proceeded.

BUT let us turn our thoughts far from *Spain*. O my dear pupil, with what pleasure may you form in your imagination the idea of *Scipio*, when
 206. on his return from *Spain* he filled this *Capitoline* hill with the smoke of his hetacomb. The *Saguntine* ambassadors also then presented here their offerings of thanksgiving. *Jovi Opt. Max. præsidibus arcis Capitolineæ*. Of their present prosperity
Scipio

Chap. III. SCIPIO AFRICANUS. 289

Scipio had been the instrument. *Scipio*, in the long course of his victories through *Spain*, had made it his constant endeavour to search out and release all those unhappy *Saguntines*, who, on the destruction of their city by *Hannibal*, had been sold as slaves, and dispersed over that wide country.

It was also on *this* same hill, that *Scipio* with much eloquence then harangued the *Roman* senate here assembled. Some few days past, (early one morning at *Nettuno*) I had the pleasure to find one of this company studying with great attention that oration in *Livy*. (In saying this, *Crito* turned affectionately towards the *eldest* of the young gentlemen); you repeated some parts of it, which, as you shewed me, seemed literally translated from *Demosthenes*; you kindly pointed out to me one period, which you thought applicable to the design of our present conversations. *Maximo cuique id accidere animo certum habeo, ut se non cum præsensibus modo, sed cum omnis ævi claris viris comparet.* You will permit me, I hope, to add my wishes, my sincere wishes, that you may yourself happily follow, and (if possible) excel the virtues of the best legislators and patriots, who ever adorned either *England* or *Rome*. *Ne felicius unumquemvis horum, quàm te patriæ tuæ finas esse natum. Crescat tibi fiducia, ex eo ipso quòd possit sæpe in hominis unius virtute tantum momenti esse.*

IN relation to the *following* actions of *Scipio*, I remember, dear sir, that when you were viewing the gallery at *Florence*, you gave much attention to the conversation of the learned keeper of that noble musæum. He led you to a large brazen statue, on the mantle of which an *Etruscan* inscription is engraved: he told you, that most probably it represented the great *Scipio*; that it was found at *Arezzo*, which city was particularly assistant to him in his preparations for his great expedition to *Afric*; though indeed (as the learned gentleman added with manifest pleasure) many other cities in *Tuscany* largely contributed to that expedition, by furnishing both money and men, as well as great plenty of their various commodities, manufactures, or natural products. Such indeed was the ardour of *Tuscany* in favour of *Scipio*, such was his activity and almost incredible diligence, that the fleet is said to have been launched on the forty-fifth day, reckoning from that day on which the timber was drawn out of the forests. An example of *Roman* industry, superior even to that which was exerted in the first *Punic* war.

THE same was the activity of *Scipio* when in Sicily *; the same was the public love there shewn to him: for he was diligent, during his residence there,

* Vide *LIVY*, lib. xxix. c. 22.

there, in doing good to the country ; particularly to the inhabitants of the unhappy city of *Syracuse*. How amiable does such behaviour appear, especially if contrasted with the contemporary tyranny of a *Pleminius* ! *Scipio's* general behaviour indeed is a proof of the truth of what the *Locrians* said, *Pro certo se habere, neque jussu neque voluntate Scipionis tot tam nefanda commissa.*

GIVE us leave, sir, said *Crito's* pupil, to desire your information in relation to an event which happened about this time, much to the honour of *Scipio's* family, and which must have given great pleasure to him. For, if I am not mistaken, it was during his residence in *Sicily*, that his cousin, *P. Cornelius Scipio*, surnamed *Nasica*, obtained at *Rome* the most distinguished honours. *Haud parvæ rei judicium tum senatum tenebat, qui vir optimus in civitate esset. Veram certè victoriam ejus rei sibi quisque mallet quàm ulla imperia honoresve suffragio seu patrum seu plebis delatos. P. Scipionem, Cn. filium ejus qui in Hispaniâ ceciderat, adolescentem nondum quæstorium, judicaverunt in totâ civitate virum bonorum optimum esse* *. These lines we copied this morning after breakfast from the 29th book of *Livy* ; and thought much on them afterwards, while we were walking in the *Colonna* gardens. For, as you hinted to us on entering those gardens,

Y 2

it

* See VAL. MAX. lib. viii. c. 15.

it was not the beauty of the flowers, nor the *vast* fragments of antient architecture lying on the terras, which were your inducement for bringing us thither; but that, while treading on the spot of the house of the *Cornelii*, we might be struck with some proper awe and admiration of the *numerous* heros of that *wonderful* family. But we should be very desirous to be informed by you, as to the *particulars* of the super-excellent character of that young man.

It seems much to be regretted, answered *Crito*, that the antient writers (as far as I know) speak only in general on that head: if they had related any particulars of it, I should have now read them to you with much more pleasure probably, than that which I follow *Africanus* from *Sicily* to *Afric*.

For in relation to his conduct in that great expedition, I do not well know what I ought to say. If, on one hand, we consider the miseries which *Italy* had suffered during the last sixteen years, we cannot well refuse to *Scipio* his just praise for having delivered this his country from such calamities; and for having totally expelled from hence the armies both of *Hannibal* and *Mago*. It is an additional honour to *Scipio*, that he carried on his preparations for the *African* expedition with much vigour and success, though he received but
little

little assistance from the government at *Rome* *. Equally remarkable was his activity when landed in *Afric*. *Nec æstate nec hieme opera remiserat; minus sibi cessandum ratus, quo hostes segnius remagerent*. Perhaps you will not easily be able to find in history any examples of activity more remarkable than those of *Scipio*, and of his ally *Masinissa*.

BUT, on the other hand, let us with due sentiments of humanity consider the miseries of *Afric* in that war, in which so many thousands of our fellow-creatures perished by sword and fire †. While I was reading the history of those *African* campaigns, I had frequently recourse to Dr. *Shaw's*

Y 3

Geogra-

* While *Scipio* was engaged in *Sicily* in these preparations, his fortitude underwent a severe trial by the defection of king *Syphax* from his alliance. Yet, however spirited the magnanimity of *Scipio* was on this occasion, his contrary declaration to his soldiers cannot surely be justified. See *Rollin's Roman History*, book xx.

The wisdom and goodness of *Scipio* in relation to the *Canenian* troops deserves far more attention.

† King *Syphax* proposed to *Scipio*, as terms of peace between *Carthage* and *Rome*, that the *Carthaginians* should quit *Italy*, and the *Romans Afric*. These terms seem moderate and proper. But perhaps *Scipio*, from the known characters of the *Carthaginians* and *Numidians*, might be induced to think this proposal not sincere; and therefore might be unwilling to accept it. However, he ought not to have pretended to listen to the negotiation merely that he might have in the mean time an opportunity to contrive the destruction of the enemy: which destruction, as soon as the negotiations were publicly broken off, fell very heavy upon them.

Geographical Description of the Kingdoms of *Algiers* and *Tunis*; and thus in some measure frequently fancied myself present on the dismal field. My blood ran cold with horror.

LOOKING on the map of the country round *Cirta*, I could not help being particularly shocked with the catastrophe of king *Syphax*; a catastrophe, which indeed drew pity from *Scipio*.

COMPASSION for that unhappy *Numidian* king ought to have risen afresh in our breasts, during our late tour to *Tivoli*. For at *Tivoli*, according to *Livy*, *Syphax* died; probably in his journey from his prison at *Alba Marforum* towards *Rome*.

It is indeed for *Syphax*, not for *Sophonisba*, that we ought to feel much compassion. In the midst of the desolation of *Afric*, the death of one wicked woman deserves not your attention. She surely merited her fate, when she consented to marry her husband's enemy, while her husband was in chains in the same city. Besides, according to *Livy*, *Scipio* had no intention that this affair should have had so dreadful and a fatal conclusion: *tristiores quàm necesse*.

As to *Scipio*'s behaviour on the arrival of *Hannibal*, and on their interview near *Zama*; as to his military

military abilities in the following battle, and his political talents in settling that peace, which was soon afterwards concluded; it is needless to trouble you with the repetition of facts of such great notoriety; and as to reflections on those facts, you must recollect (in several antient and modern authors) many much better than what I am capable to propose.

It is proper however that I should take notice, that several authors commend the lenity of the terms of peace which were granted to the *Carthaginians*. *Carthago monumentum Scipionis clementiae*, says *Velleius Paterculus*. *Livy* also uses some similar expressions: *Ne ad internecionem bellaretur.—Romanos, præter vetustissimum morem victis parcendi, præcipuum clementiae documentum dedisse, pace Annibali & Carthaginensibus datâ* *. But to own the truth, I do not remember many marks of lenity in those terms. Perhaps the antients were of a contrary opinion. Indeed the truth seems to be this; since the most happy establishment of Christianity, the general way of thinking of mankind is become so much more humane than formerly, that a Christian reader will sometimes think those terms severe, which an heathen writer calls merciful.

Y 4

It

* See *Livy*, lib. xxxiii. c. 12.

It is proper also that I should own, that it is said on the other side, that the reasons which influenced *Scipio* to grant a peace to the *Carthaginians*, were not so much his sentiments of compassion to them, as apprehensions, that if he delayed to finish the war, a successor might come from *Rome*, and might deprive him of that honour.

In acknowledging this and some other defects of *Scipio's* conduct, I hope I shall not abate the influence, which the *many* good parts of his character ought to have on your minds. In my first draught of these papers on the characters of the *Roman* heroes, I must own, I endeavoured to be more silent as to their defects; and to dwell, as much as might be, only on their praises. But on a revival of these papers, I have found it necessary to correct this method of proceeding, to abate (though unwillingly) my encomiums, and to endeavour to represent these *Roman* characters according to strict historic truth, (at least as much as is in my small power) though never, I hope, deviating one step from the path of candour.

FOR fear of running into too great a panegyric on the memory of *Scipio*, let us not omit to do him full justice. From the principle of just candour let us remember (as a confirmation of the *merciful* temper of *Scipio* in general) the noble sentiment

timent which one of the wisest and best men used to quote from him. *Antoninus Pius Scipionis sententiam frequentabat, quâ ille dicebat, malle se unum civem servare, quàm mille hostes occidere.*

It has also been observed, that *Scipio's* general aim in all his labours was not to increase his own greatness, but only to have the pleasure of performing great services to his country. This nobleness of intention surely ought to strike us with much more awe, than all the grandeur of his abilities or achievements.

* * *

SCIPIO returns from *Afric* to *Italy*. I could 200.
wish that I had sufficient eloquence properly to relate the general joy with which he was here received. From the sea-coasts of *Lilybæum* through the whole length of *Sicily*, and of *Italy* quite to *Rome*, the roads were lined with multitudes, who flocked from all parts to see their deliverer; him, to whose valour and good fortune they were indebted for the safety, quiet, and all other advantages which they were going to enjoy, in consequence of the peace by him concluded.

If I had any oratory, I should try to exert it on such a subject; but my language is too low, my thoughts too cold.

PERMIT

PERMIT me to proceed through these papers in my usual manner.

IN the following year *Scipio* was chosen censor: in this office he behaved with remarkable mildness. Mildness after such success seems to prove that his heart was not fowered by pride. *Multis claris petentibus viris creati censores P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus, & P. Ælius Pætus. Hi senatum sine ullius notâ legerunt; & magnâ erant inter se concordia.* A behaviour, very worthy of that venerable office*, and very different from the contentious spirit of the late censors, *Livius* and *Nero*.

SOME few years afterwards we have the very great pleasure to find *Scipio*, in the Roman senate, with true generosity and noble earnestness, defending the cause of *Hannibal*.

You will excuse me, dear sir, (continued *Crito*, turning towards the eldest of the young gentlemen) if I digress for some few moments on that subject.

HANNIBAL, since the late peace, had been very industrious at *Carthage*, in a new character; as one of the principal civil magistrates, and leading members in the legislative assemblies of his country.

HIS

* See the speech of *Cæcilius Metellus*. *LIVY*, lib. xi. c. 46.

HIS behaviour in this sphere of action will probably give you, dear sir, more pleasure, than any of the most splendid actions in his military history.

WITH vigour and success he defended the *lives* and *properties of his countrymen* against the immoderate wealth and power, insolence and tyranny of the *judges of Carthage*: (which office was the same, I suppose, with that of the *suffetes*, or שפטים) he planned, proposed, and carried a law to render their office *annual* only; whereas, at that time, it was for life.

HE defended the *public revenue* also from the rapacious hands of the other great men of that corrupt city. With true *senatorial industry* he examined the state of the finances; he calculated the whole just income of the state, from whatever various articles it arose. He calculated also, on the other hand, how much of this income was employed to its proper purposes; how much was lost by mere negligence and inattention; how much was embezzled by particulars, who shared among them the plunder of the public.

It was then a time of great distress at *Carthage*; ways and means were then proposing for the levy of *fresh* taxes on the subject, though exhausted
by

by the great expences of a long war, and dispirited by the total destruction of their maritime power. *Hannibal* then——But let me not thus *affectedly* pretend to talk to you in this *parliamentary* stile: permit me rather to read to you from my notes a short extract from *Livy*.

HANNIBAL autem omnibus residuis pecuniis exactis, satis locupletem rempublicam fore pronuntiavit, Et præstitit promissum.

Tum verò isti, quos paverat per aliquot annos publicus peculatus, velut bonis ereptis, non furto eorum manibus extorto, infensi & irati Romanos in *Annibalem*, & ipsos causam odii quærentes, instigabant.

Missi igitur *Carthaginem* sunt de eâ re legati a Romano senatu; diu repugnante *Scipione Africano*, qui parum ex populi Romani dignitate esse ducebat, subscribere odiis accusationibusque *Annibalis*, & factionibus *Carthaginensium* inferere publicam auctoritatem, nec satis habere bello vicisse *Annibalem*, nisi velut accusatores calumniam in eum jurarent, ac nomen deferrent.

MANY thanks to you for this digression, (if it can be called so) replied the eldest of the young gentlemen. Happy would it have been, if *Scipio's* contemporary, *Titus Flaminius*, (whose character in

in many respects was very good and glorious) had in this particular imitated the noble spirit of *Africanus*; nor ever accepted the dishonourable embassy to the court of king *Prusias*.

YOUR observation seems very just; however let us not *anticipate* his character, (said *Crito*) but confine ourselves to *Scipio*. I wish it was in our power to say that *Scipio* behaved equally noble in the contest between the *Carthaginians* and *Masiniſſa*, which happened in the year 193. But as there is nothing in that affair, for which *Scipio* can be commended; so perhaps, on the other hand, there is no sure ground for any accusation against him: it being uncertain, according to *Livy*, *utrum sua sponte id fecerit, an quia mandatum ita fuerat*. If we are to judge of this point by what happened in the case of *Hannibal* two years before, we shall probably have reason to think the majority of the *Roman* senate rather to have been in the fault, than *Scipio*.

IN the year 190, *Scipio* marched from *Rome* to *Asia*. *Sed priusquam proficisceretur, fornicem in Capitolio, adversus viam quâ in Capitolium ascenditur, cum signis septem auratis, duobus equis, & marmorea duo labra posuit*. If any part of this building had been now remaining, it would have been with great pleasure that I should have conducted you
to

to it; but it seems scarce possible even to fix exactly the spot where it stood. We may be confident however, that we are not at present further than a stone's cast from it: probably it might be contiguous to *those* antique vaultings, which are at present the stables of the *Palazzo Senatorio*; but which antiently, you know, made part of the *Atrium Publicum*, and supported the *Tabularia* *.

HOWEVER uncertain this conjecture may be, yet, if you please, we will step down stairs, and examine that spot. The *Germans* have, I see, made the tour of all the other apartments of this *Museum*, and are desirous of looking at the curiosities in this room.



IT was the happiness of *Crito's* pupil scarce ever to stir a step without doing some good. In crossing the *Capitoline* quadrangle, from the *Museum* to the *Stalle del Senatore Romano*, he walked slower than the rest of the company, and (as soon as they were turned the corner) gladly took the opportunity of giving some silver to the poor prisoners at the begging-gate. He then ran after his friends, and (without taking the least notice of what

* See Abate VENTURI's description of *Rome*, vol. i. p. 63.

Chap. III. SCIPIO AFRICANUS. 303

what he had been doing) ardently entered into discourse with them on the antient form and design of those, now dark and subterranean, porticoes.

IN about a quarter of an hour the company re-ascended to the *Capitoline* quadrangle; while they were walking towards its other end, *Crito* resumed the subject of the former conversation.

IF, said he, we follow *Scipio* in his expedition from *Italy* to *Asia*, we shall have the pleasure to find him, in his passage through *Greece*, busy in works of mercy towards the *Ætolians*. The *Ætolians* were at that time in the greatest distress; yet, though they had deserved those misfortunes, *Scipio* did not decline to assist them: he assisted them both with his advice and with his interest: he comforted them, by being able to say, (a most comfortable reflection also surely to his own heart) *Multas gentes populosque in Hispaniâ prius, deinde in Africâ in fidem suam venisse; in omnibus se majora clementiæ benignitatisque quàm virtutis bellicæ, monumenta reliquisse* *.

FROM *Greece* *Scipio* marched to the *Hellepont*; he there met the ambassadors of *Antiochus*, and gave

* Vide *LIVII*, lib. xxxvii. c. 6, 7.

Ætolus etiam C. Valerius Lævini filius, qui cum eâ gente primum amicitiam pepigerat, egregiè adjuvit.

LIVII, lib. xxxvii. c. 9.

gave them that answer, the patriotic spirit of which, I am sure, has always been much approved by all this company.

Ego ex munificentia regiâ maximum donum filium habebô: aliis, Deos precor, ne unquam fortuna egeat mea: animus certè non egebit. Pro tanto in me munere, gratum me esse in se sentiet, si privatam gratiam pro privato beneficio desiderabit: publicè neque habebô quicquam ab illo, nec dabo.

A SENTIMENT not improper to be expressed by all members of either house of parliament, when receiving favours from ministers of state. Two of this company perhaps may have occasion to remember it.

At the Hellepont, *Romani tum primum in Asiâ castra posuerunt.* From thence the army marched to *Troy*.

O MY dear pupil, what shouts must have resounded through all the legions; when, on crossing the ridge of the *Rhætan* hills, they first saw the plain of *Simois*, the habitation of their ancestors? *Dardanum*, *Rhætæum*, & *Ilium*, all perhaps appeared in different parts of the prospect. To *Ilium* they continued their rapid and joyful march.

Αλλ' ὅτε νηὸν ἐκένον Ἀθήνης ἐν πόλει ἄκρη.

With

With what joy must they there have offered their solemn sacrifices! *Alexander* the Great had there sacrificed to *Minerva*, on his first landing in *Asia*; the *Roman* generals probably performed their devotion with more affection. Piety to heaven, piety to their antient country, both must have filled their minds*.

ALEXANDER, after his sacrifice to *Minerva*, is said to have endeavoured to appease the manes of *Priam* by sacrificing to him at the altar of *Jupiter Hercæus*; and then to have crowned with flowers the tomb of *Achilles*, while *Hephestion* did the same at that of *Patroclus*†. Perhaps *Scipio* had at least equal pleasure in paying like honours to the sepulchre of *Hector*.

FROM *Troy* the *Roman* army continued their march to the field of battle at *Magnesia*, near mount *Sypilus*. You well remember the great event of that day. *Africanus* was not present at that engagement; but, as soon as his indisposition would suffer him to join the army, he was commissioned to deliver the articles of peace to the *Syrian* ambassadors.

VOL. I.

Z

IN

* Vid. *Livii*, lib. xxxvii. c. 37.

† Vid. *Arriani*, librum primum.

IN relation to these articles, it seems probable that some of them were sent from the government at *Rome*, others framed by the *Roman* generals and plenipotentiaries in *Asia*. Of the former kind, I should esteem the article relative to *Hannibal* to be: for it can scarce be supposed to have been framed by *Scipio*, being totally contrary to his noble behaviour, in defence of *Hannibal*, in the *Roman* senate five years before.

IN relation to the treaty in general, the *Roman* negotiators shewed great appearance of magnanimity in not demanding, after so decisive a victory, other terms than what they insisted upon before the battle was fought.

THE peace was soon afterwards *here* * ratified. The conquered countries of *Asia Minor* were distributed with tolerable equity between *Eumenes* and the *Rhodians*; many *Grecian* cities on those coasts were restored to their liberty. Give me leave to recommend to your perusal the oration of the *Rhodian* ambassadors on that occasion. The *Romans* kept not one foot of ground of all their conquests to themselves.

THUS ended the war with *Antiochus*, the king of the *East*. The dominions of *Antiochus* then extended

* *Fœdus in Capitolio iſtum eſt. Livy, lib. xxxvii. c. 55.*

Chap. III. SCIPIO AFRICANUS. 307

extended eastward as far as the *Indies*; the *Roman* empire westward as far as the *Streights of Gibraltar*. The frontiers of *Asia* and of *Europe* were, as you have seen, the theatre of this great war. The consequences of it were, the *Romans* became the most powerful state of the world.

BUT in the midst of all this splendor of dominion and power, the most pleasing circumstances of *Scipio's* behaviour were his domestic virtues. How strong was his love to his son*! How exemplary his affection to his brother! For in this great war with *Antiochus*, how did *Scipio*, the renowned deliverer of *Italy*, and conqueror of *Spain* and *Afric*, then appear! Far superior to all the pride of past victories and triumphs, he had voluntarily condescended to the inferior character of a lieutenant, and now served under his brother: thus (instead of insatiably seeking more honour for himself) assisting his brother† in the acquisition of as much renown from *Asia*, as that with which he himself had returned from *Afric*.

Z 2

THERE

* The fight of this beloved son recovered *Scipio* from his dangerous illness in *Asia*. For some parts of the character of this young man, see *Tully de Claris Oratoribus*, c. 19.

† *Scipio Asiaticus* would probably have never commanded in this war in *Asia*, if *Africanus* had not offered to serve as his lieutenant. *Livii*, lib. xxxvii. c. 1.

308 ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. Book II.

THERE is scarce indeed, in the whole history of the *Scipios*, a more pleasing part than this scene of fraternal affection. *Scipio Africanus*, in his early years, had most affectionately and nobly assisted his brother in his first advancement to the public honours and offices of the state. *Scipio Asiaticus*, returned this kindness by serving faithfully and diligently under him in all the great and long *Carthaginian* war *. But how nobly did *Africanus*, by this his humble behaviour in *Asia*, crown the whole of this benevolent contention of fraternal love!

How amiable in this picture of these two great men, thus without envy mutually and alternately supporting each other in all their prosperity and success! Nor did they separate from each other when called to suffer the sharpest adversity; but were in all things, both in life and death, united with as much endless love as the two famous brother deities, Θεοὶ σωτήρες Ἑλλάδος: (they also, like *Scipio*, were called Διοσκούροι, εἴτε δι' ἀρετὴν, εἴτε διὰ ψυχῆς τι μεγέθους, ταύτην φημὶ ἀπενεγκάμενοι †)

I mean

* Particularly in Spain.

Scipio per se & per fratrem suum L. Scipionem 70 civitates recepit. Eutropius, lib. 3.

Scipio collaudato fratre, cum quanto poterat verborum honore, Carthagini novæ a se captæ captam ab eo Oringin æquabat.

Livy, lib. xxvii. c. 4.

† Vid. *Jamblicum*.

Chap. III. SCIPIO AFRICANUS. 309

I mean *Castor* and *Pollux*, whose *colossal* statues are now before you, standing one on the right, the other on the left of *this* noble ascent from the streets of *Rome* up to this *Capitol*.



CRITO paused here some moments, taking out his papers of notes, and laying them on the balustrade between one of those colossal statues, and the adjoining richly-sculptured trophies. After having in silence turned over some few leaves, he put the parcel of papers again into his pocket, and resumed his discourse in the following manner.

THE splendor of *Scipio's* actions in so many regions of *Europe, Asia, and Afric*, though united together, is not equal to the real glory and merit of his conduct *here* at home.

ON his return home from his foreign labours, I mean particularly those in *Afric*, the *Romans* (while the tide of their popular favour and gratitude continued to flow) were daily heaping on him all possible honours. *Voluit etiam populus eum facere perpetuum consulem & dictatorem.*

SCIPIO, (whose ardent desire seems to have been, not so much to *acquire*, as to *merit* the
Z 3 greatest

greatest honours) instead of encouraging, wisely and virtuously checked the multitude. He re-
proved them for their extravagant profusion of
honours on him, and particularly for this their
design of placing him in a station incompat-
ible with the liberty of his country, as well as
with the moderation of his own republican cha-
racter.

WHILE *Crito* was making this last observation,
the eldest of the young gentlemen seemed particu-
larly affected by it. It was, I suppose, (said he
with peculiar warmth) *this* part of the goodness of
Scipio which moved the heart even of *Machiavel*.
I remember his ardent expressions. *E impossibile*
che quelli che leggeffino l'hiftorie, & delle memorie delle
antiche cose faceffino capitale, che non volessero quelli tali
privati vivere nella loro patria piu tofto Scipioni che
Cefari *. But pray proceed,

IT will be an additional satisfaction to you
(continued *Crito*) to recollect, that *Scipio* be-
haved scarce less nobly when this popular favour
changed. For from admiration it turned to envy ;
and from envy it soon rankled into malevolence
and hatred.

Such,

* *Disc. Sopra Livio, libro primo, c. 10.*

SUCH, dear sir, is the mutability and fickleness of popularity. May you always wisely seek another, far more certain, reward in all your public labours: may you never forget the words with which *Fenelon* (as it were) closes the great patriotic work of his *Telemachus*. *Il faut compter sur l'ingratitude des hommes, & ne pas laisser de leur faire du bien. Le bien, qu'on fait n'est jamais perdu. Si les hommes l'oublient, les Dieux s'en souviennent, & le recompensent* *.

THE best and bravest patriots must not complain, if they meet with ingratitude from men; it is by no means an uncommon case. If from this balustrade we look down on *those* streets, where the *Circus Flaminius* stood, we see the place where *Marcellus* was accused †. If we turn round towards the *Forum Romanum*, we must with still more indignation remember, that *there* the *Scipios* appeared at the tribunal of the *Petili*. For, to the great dishonour of the history of *Rome*, even the *Scipios* were persecuted by their countrymen. Scarce ever was there a scene of greater ingrati-

Z 4

tude,

* *Telemaque*, livre xx.

† *Actum de imperio Marcelli in Circo Flaminio est.* (Vid. *Livy*, lib. xxvii. c. 20, 21.) *Accusavit tribunus plebis, qui illum assiduus concionibus infamem invisumque plebi fecerat. Sed hanc tribuni orationem ita obruit Marcellus commemoratione rerum suarum, ut non rogatio solum de imperio ejus abrogando antiquaretur; sed postero die consulem eum ingenti consensu centuriæ omnes crearent.*

tude, nor (as the event plainly proved) of greater injustice*.

BUT let not *me* speak on this subject; let me much rather desire you to bring *hither* this afternoon your pocket editions of *Livy*; and, in some retired chamber in these *Capitoline* buildings, to read the ten last chapters of his thirty-eight book. You will afterwards perhaps cast a look at that neighbouring *Carcere Tulliano*, in which *Scipio Asiaticus* would have been imprisoned, if it had not been prevented by the noble spirit of *Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus*.

As to the behaviour of *Scipio Africanus* in this strange scene, it was full of that noble courage and spirit which might be expected from such a man, conscious of all the *civick* innocence and
dignity

* *Scipio Asiaticus* was condemned for having defrauded the public of more than 30,000 *l.* in the *Asiatic* war. He persisted to the last in his innocence, standing his trial with the greatest resolution, refusing to give bail, and still insisting that he had accounted for all that he had received. When his effects were seized and appraised, they were not found to be altogether of value sufficient to answer the sum in question: nor was there any thing among his effects which could be deemed to have been brought from *Asia*. Vid. *Hooke*.

On this discovery, the popular opinion again changed; & *Scipionum invidia*, vertit in *prætores*, & *consilium ejus*, & *accusatores*. *Livy*, lib. xxxviii. c. 60.

Collata pecunia (vid. *ibid.*) *a cognatis amicisque & clientibus est L. Scipioni, ut si acciperet eam locupletior aliquanto esset, quam ante calamitatem fuerat. Nihil accepit.*—See the similar behaviour of *Cincinnatus*, book i. p. 84.

Chap. III. SCIPIO AFRICANUS. 313

dignity of his past life. I could wish however that he had shewn more submissive patience; if, instead of tearing his books of accounts, he had submitted them to the public view, his triumph over his adversaries would have been still more compleatly glorious, and his retirement still more honourable.

FOR, least a further contest of parties on his account might be prejudicial to the public welfare, *Scipio* now, from a principle of regard to *Rome*, took leave of her for ever. With magnanimity, constancy, and patience, he went into a kind of voluntary *banishment*; the place of his retreat was the sea-shore of *Liternum*, near *Cuma*. We shall, I hope, have the pleasure of seeing that place in our *Neapolitan* tour; and perhaps recollecting while there, with due allowance, the following reflections of *Seneca*.

In ipsâ Scipionis villâ hæc scribo; adoratis manibus ejus & sepulchro. Animum quidem ejus in cælum, ex quo erat, redisse persuadeo mihi; ob egregiam moderationem pietatemque, magis in illo admirabilem, cum reliquit patriam, quàm cum defendit.

IN that rural retreat *Scipio* passed not the remainder of his days in despondence; nor, on the other hand, did he ever sink into such a slothful
and

314 ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. Book II.

and mean conclusion of life as *Lucullus*. He employed himself in the art and science of agriculture; agriculture, which is eternally and universally the most useful of all arts, and which was particularly respected in the antient times of wisdom.

If I am not mistaken, said *Crito's* pupil, I remember hearing in *Norfolk* something similarly noble of Lord *Townshend*, particularly during the years of his retirement. But let me not interrupt you.

SCIPIO, continued *Crito*, *laboribus etiam rusticis sese exercebat; terramque, ut mos fuit priscis, ipse subigebat.*

His leisure hours however were passed in the conversation of the most polite and learned men of that age. *Ennius* was his chief companion. *Ennius* was constantly partaking of *Scipio's* favour and friendship: he had also the peculiar honour of a place even in the tomb of these illustrious brothers. Yesterday, in passing by the ruins of that mausolæum*, I observed, that it
was

* *Extra portam Capenam in Scipionum monumento tres statuae sunt; quarum duæ P. & L. Scipionum dicuntur esse; tertia Poetae Ennii. Livii, lib. xxxviii. c. 56,*

Seguendo la via Appia si vede a destra il mausoleo di Scipione Africano. E bensì questo monumento privo d'ornamenti e spogliato delle pietre, che lo rivestivano; ma degno è di esser veduto per la grandiosa

was not without due *classical* respect, that you, my dear pupil, *silently* looked up to its *three* niches. I am sure the sight of that sepulchre must have awakened some of your poetic ideas. Was not you then poetically wishing, in *each* of those niches to hang up some garland, some *πλεκτον στεφανον* * ?

WHATEVER my thoughts then were, replied the modest youth, they certainly were not worthy of your attention. But you were just now speaking of the tomb of *Achilles*: *Achilles*, if I am not mistaken, was buried in somewhat of a similar manner, between the remains of *Patroclus* and *Antilochus*, while all the Muses wept over his urn.

—Μῦσαι δ' ἐννεα πασαι†—

I FORGET what immediately follows; but the passage concludes with a sentiment, which the Latin

grandiosa offatura dell' edificio di forma quadra con la sua camera sepolchrale et per l'ordine secondo di forma rotonda con le nicchie all' intorno per le statue de due Scipioni e del Poeta Ennio.

Eschinardi Descriptione dell' Agro Romano, p. 293.

From the *camera sepulchrale* some inferences perhaps might be drawn to prove, that this building was not originally intended merely as a *Cenotaph*,

* *Euripidis Hippolytus.*

† *Odyssey, l. 60.*

314 ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. Book II.

and mean conclusion of life as *Lucullus*. He employed himself in the art and science of agriculture; agriculture, which is eternally and universally the most useful of all arts, and which was particularly respected in the antient times of wisdom.

IF I am not mistaken, said *Crito's* pupil, I remember hearing in *Norfolk* something similarly noble of Lord *Townshend*, particularly during the years of his retirement. But let me not interrupt you.

SCIPIO, continued *Crito*, *laboribus etiam rusticis sese exercebat; terramque, ut mos fuit priscis, ipse subigebat.*

HIS leisure hours however were passed in the conversation of the most polite and learned men of that age. *Ennius* was his chief companion. *Ennius* was constantly partaking of *Scipio's* favour and friendship: he had also the peculiar honour of a place even in the tomb of these illustrious brothers. Yesterday, in passing by the ruins of that mausolæum*, I observed, that it
was

* *Extra portam Capenam in Scipionum monumento tres statuae sunt; quarum duæ P. & L. Scipionum dicuntur esse; tertia Poetæ Ennii. Livii, lib. xxxviii. c. 56.*

Seguendo la via Appia si vede a destra il mausoleo di Scipione Africano. E bensì questo monumento privo d'ornamenti e spogliato delle pietre, che lo rivestivano; ma degno è di esser veduto per la grandiosa

was not without due *classical* respect, that you, my dear pupil, *silently* looked up to its *three* niches. I am sure the sight of that sepulchre must have awakened some of your poetic ideas. Was not you then poetically wishing, in *each* of those niches to hang up some garland, some *πλεκτον στεφανον* * ?

WHATEVER my thoughts then were, replied the modest youth, they certainly were not worthy of your attention. But you were just now speaking of the tomb of *Achilles* : *Achilles*, if I am not mistaken, was buried in somewhat of a similar manner, between the remains of *Patroclus* and *Antilochus*, while all the Muses wept over his urn.

—Μῦσαι δ' ἐννεα πασαι †—

I FORGET what immediately follows ; but the passage concludes with a sentiment, which the Latin

grandiosa offatura dell' edificio di forma quadra con la sua camera sepulchrale et per l'ordine secondo di forma rotonda con le nicchie all' intorno per le statue de due Scipioni e del Poeta Ennio.

Escbinardi Descrittione dell' Agro Romano, p. 293.

From the *camera sepulchrale* some inferences perhaps might be drawn to prove, that this building was not originally intended merely as a *Cenotaph*,

* *Euripidis Hippolytus.*

† *Odyssey, l. II. 60.*

316 ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. Book II.

Latin poets might, at least as properly, have applied to *Scipio*, as *Homer* to his hero.

— μαλα γὰρ φίλῳ πῶτα θεοῖσι·

Ὡς σὺ μὲν κδε θανῶν ὀνομ' ὠλεσας· ἀλλὰ τοι αἰεὶ

παντὰς ἐπ' ἀνδρῶν κλεῖν εἴσεται ἔσθλον.



REPEATING these verses, *Crito's* pupil, with the rest of the company, walked down the great slope, which lies before the colossal statues of *Caster* and *Pollux*. At the bottom of that slope they turned short on their right hand, and slowly re-ascended the *Capitoline* hill, by that grand marble staircase, which consists of, near an hundred steps*.

At the top of this magnificent staircase stands the solemn and awful church of *Ara Celi*.

APPROACHING to it they heard from within some loud notes of the organ, and full chant of the choir. It is not decent for us, said *Crito*, to disturb the congregation; if you please, we will stay

* This staircase is antique, but placed on this spot in modern times, being removed hither from the *Quirinal* hill. It is very steep, and ascends in a straight line without any turning, and scarce any landing-place; the steps are high, and each in length about forty-seven feet.

stay till the morning-service is over, on this terrace before the church-door. We may here, perhaps not improperly, employ a quarter of an hour in reflecting on that which, after reciting all the praises of *Scipio*, must be acknowledged to be really the *principal* glory of his life.

I MEAN his devout and religious turn of mind. These expressions, I hope, will be understood with the due allowances; and in that sense only, in which they are properly applicable to an *heaven* character. The piety and devotion of Christians is, thank God, of a very different, and (infinitely beyond all comparison) of a more sublime nature.

SCIPIO is called by St. *Austin**, *ille patriæ totiusque Italiæ liberator, cujus vita ab adolescentiâ describitur diis dedita, templisque innutrita.*

SCIPIO is by other writers represented as constantly beginning and ending every great work † with that pious attention to heaven; which (though like all other virtues, it always produces more good, in proportion as it is accompanied with more true knowledge, yet) in general is, and must eternally

* Vid. *Augustini de Civitate Dei.*

† This was the pious and wise maxim of the early *Romans*. *Omnium magnarum rerum et principia exors a Diis sunt, et finem eum statuerunt.* Livy, lib. xlv. c. 39.

eternally be, the most noble and most abundant source of great and good actions.

SCIPIO, from his earliest youth, is said to have made it his *daily* and never neglected rule to begin every morning with some devout retirement and meditation; and that chiefly in *this very place*. For in *this* place, where the church of *Ara Celi* now stands, it is most probably supposed, that the temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus* once stood.

I REMEMBER, *Livy* takes notice of the very happy effect which religious piety had on the mind of a young contemporary of *Scipio*, *C. Valerius Flaccus**. *Flaccus*, in his early youth, was unhappily misled by the temptations of pleasure and of idleness; but, on his being appointed priest of *Jupiter*, (most probably he was appointed to that office in the temple which stood in *this* place) *ut animum cura sacrorum cepit, repente exiit antiquos mores, ut nemo in totâ juventute haberetur prior nec probatior sanctitate vitæ.*

How much superior must the effects of religious piety have been on the mind of *Scipio*; who (as far as we are informed by his history) had not such youthful failings to repent of?

THE

* *Livii*, lib. xxvii. c. 8.

Chap. III. SCIPIO AFRICANUS. 319

THE daily devotion of *Scipio* seems indeed to me to have been the real spring of all the dignity and glory of his life. Permit me to endeavour to explain myself on this head. In my own opinion, I cannot but look on the piety of *Scipio* to have been full indeed of heathenish error, (for he lived in the darkness of paganism) but to have been founded in sincerity of heart.

POLYBIUS indeed strongly asserts the contrary; and *Livy* seems to be of opinion, that *Scipio's* piety was but half sincere. If such was really the case, surely *Scipio* is by no means worthy of the elogiums bestowed on him.

BUT it seems much to be observed, that *Polybius* lived at that time, when his countrymen, the *Grecians*, had lost very much of the religious spirit of their ancestors, and of its *consequential* virtues*. Such also was the condition of *Rome* in the times of *Livy*; the *Romans* then despised and ridiculed
the

* Luxury, vice, and an irreligious spirit, entered into *Greece* much sooner than into *Rome*. *Greece* seems in these articles to be sunk very low in the times of the *Scipios*; while *Rome* still retained much of its antient virtues, particularly its religious spirit.

Polybius, in the fragments of his sixth book, has a remarkable passage relative to the comparison of the moral character of the two nations in his time; a passage, not indeed written in the spirit of religion, but containing something much to its honour in regard to its happy effect, in keeping mankind honest in their transactions with each other.

the religious spirit and virtue of their fore-fathers. May the omen be averted from modern *Europe*!

IN such a temper of mind, and sad condition of heart, the pride of worldly wisdom (through whose medium most things are then viewed) will strongly incline men to imagine, that a sincere religious spirit is far too poor and mean a weakness to have made part of the *real* character of the greatest heroes, and wisest legislators, which the world ever produced.

BUT the fact is, I apprehend, indubitably true in several instances. Let me mention three names only, which are surely as respectable as any which the histories of *Greece*, *Rome*, or *Britain* can boast: *Xenophon*, of whose writings we were just now speaking in the *Capitoline Museum*; *Marcus Aurelius*, by whose statue we just now passed; and *Alfred* the Great.

I APPREHEND also that several writers have demonstrated with the greatest strength and weight of solid argument, not only that great abilities and great devotion are consistent qualities, but also that the greatest degree of true devotion is the noblest temper of the noblest minds.

O MY

Chap. III. ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. 321

O MY dear friends, whatever the case of *Scipio* may have been, I am sure *you* will always sincerely think that piety is the most exalted exercise and use of the best faculties of the human soul.

PIETY in the beginning of every day, and of every work, is the surest source of goodness of life. May we be duly convinced of the *rational* proofs of this deep and high doctrine! May we *really experience* in ourselves its truth, with as great conviction, as we *feel* the all-directing light and all-enlivening heat of *that* sun!

MAY *you*, my dear friends, prove it to others also, by the force of your examples; being led by the influence of the sacred spirit of devotion continually and indefatigably right onwards thro' a long series of great and good actions. For a proper spirit of morning devotion (permit me to repeat this again and again) will give constantly a rule, a meaning, a nobleness, a life, zeal, ardour, and activity to the following actions of each day: it will be continually renewing and strengthening all your virtues, both in prosperity and in adversity. Every thing, whether of labour or pain, you will find amply repaid in the happiness of prayer. For as at other times it will be your best employment to be daily studying and imitating the best examples of mankind; so, in these more

awful hours, may you lift up your hearts to the contemplation of the DIVINE perfections : raising yourselves above the utmost heights of created greatness, and making the nearest approach which mortality allows to the DIVINE nature itself.

MAY such daily piety draw down on you the favour of heaven still more and more abundantly !

But the morning service is over, and we may now enter the church. Give me leave however, first to read to you some few lines which I copied this morning from the pious *Xenophon*.

Χρη εν, μηδεν ελλειποντα, κατα δυναμιν τιμαν της θεας· θαρρειν τε, και ελπιζειν τα μεγαλα αγαθα. Ου γαρ παρ' αλλων γ' αν τις μειζω ελπιζων σωφρονη, η παρα των τα μεγαλα ωφελειν δυναμεων· Ουδ' αν αλλως μαλλον, η ει τυτοις αρεσκοι. Αρεσκοι δε πως αν μαλλον, η ει ως μαλιστα πειθοιτο αυτοις ;

Τοιαυτα μεντοι λεγων τε ο Σωκρατης, και αυτοι ποιων, ευσεβεσ-ερης και σωφρονεσ-ερης της συνοντας πα-ρεσχευαζεν*.

CHAP.

* *Xenophontis Memorabilia*, lib. iv.

CHAP. IV.

NINTH DAY'S CONVERSATION.

AMONG the many retired rural walks *within* the walls of *Rome*, there is scarce any perhaps more agreeable to a contemplative mind than the garden ground, which covers, but still preserves the shape of, the *Circus Maximus*.

CRITO and his pupil were walking in it this morning, and conversing on the character which was to be the subject of this day's lecture, when they were joined by their two young friends, who came hither about half an hour later than their appointment.

THE appointment was to meet at that part of the *Via Triumphalis*, which is contiguous to the southern end of the *Circus Maximus*.

THE company sat down together at that *southern* end of the garden ground, near the water-mill; from which place they commanded the view of the whole length of the *Circus*. They had frequently viewed it before, (particularly on the first

day of these conversations *) but they now gave to it a more particular attention.

THE youngest seemed full of the idea of its antient splendor; and talked, as if its shining pavement, and all the pillars and statues on its *spina* were really before his eyes.

THE eldest, though highly pleased with all works of public magnificence, yet expressed dissatisfaction at the *bad policy* of the entertainments here exhibited. This green and silent garden, added he, (which seems now proper only *cœnam centum dare Pythagoreis*) how long was it the constant scene of *noise* and *riot*; the center of all the *luxurious* diversions both of republican and imperial *Rome*! Our antiquarian, I remember, told me, that it was *immediately after the conclusion of the second Punic war*, that the *ludi & spectacula* began to be remarkably magnificent here; but that the expences of those pompous entertainments became in the following ages still more and more extravagant. In the times of the *dissolute* imperial government, these sloping banks were *almost every day* filled with upwards of one hundred and fifty thousand *indolent* spectators; on whose heads artificial and odoriferous dews were during the whole games continually sprinkling from above; and at whose

* Vid. page 31, 33.

Chap. IV. ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. 325

whose feet, even these ditches (in the reign of that disgrace of government *Heliogabalus*) flowed with wine.

SENECA, said *Crito*, confirms your observation, that scarce any thing contributed to the corruption of *Rome* more than these *Circensian* games, when once they began to be performed with any remarkably great expence. But bad as their *political* effect was, their *moral* influence must have been still much worse. Most wretched indeed must be that degeneracy of mind, which was the natural consequence of such public entertainments as these; which, instead of pretending to inculcate any moral improvement, seem calculated to corrupt both the head and the heart, by constantly spreading the contagion of folly and vanity, pride, idleness, and licentiousness. Nor was their cruelty less detestable: frequently has this *Circus*, as well as the amphitheatres, been stained with human blood. Licentious as are our modern public diversions, yet, thank God, they are not near so wicked as those of antient *Rome*.

THERE is a story in the latter part of the *Athenian* history, said *Crito's* pupil, which gave me great pleasure when I read it, though at present I do not exactly recollect all its circumstances. The *Athenians* (as you have often observed to me)

A a 3

were

were very vain and extravagant in their public entertainments ; yet never were they guilty in them of such murders as were here perpetrated. Once indeed it was proposed to introduce at *Athens* some of these *savage* diversions of the *Romans*. One of their patriots or philosophers (I do not know whether I tell the story right) was expected to oppose this design by a public speech. To the surprize of the whole audience he strongly encouraged it ; recommending only at the close of his oration to the consideration of the assembly, whether or no it would not be in this case highly expedient first to demolish (what would be now useless and contradictory) that sacred and most venerable ALTAR OF MERCY in the *Forum* of *Athens*, at which their great and glorious ancestors had worshipped for above a thousand years.

THE company smiled ; but *Crito* seriously thus replied. — The history of *Rome* is, in effect, the history of the human heart, when under the trials and temptations of the greatest wealth and power. The folly and vice, pride and cruelty, of the *Roman Circus* are only the extremes of that abuse, which we see every day made of lesser degrees of power and wealth. Hateful and contemptible on this account are the names of many republican magistrates, and emperors of *Rome*. Yet are not those persons of our own times proportionally odious

Chap. IV. ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. 327

odious and despicable; (and even much more so, considering the light of that blessed religion, which in vain shines upon them) who, possessed of a great degree of wealth, know not the blessedness of relieving multitudes of the unhappy by a generous abundant charity; but squander it away entirely upon themselves in the most idle and vain diversions: and who, possessed of a great degree of power, use not (like guardian-angels) with humility and pious gratitude, that sacred instrument for the protection of mankind, but merely as a scourge of their inhuman devilish pride, in making miserable all within their sphere?

How happy ought those to esteem themselves, who by their condition and state of life, are called to make daily and *continual* use of their power and prosperity for the relief of others! For what more happy manner can there be found of employing these great gifts of fortune? what more noble exercise of power and fortitude, than this?

Look on all the history of *Rome*; what page is there in all its volumes so splendid, as that of the pro-consulship of *Titus Flamininus*? What heroism equal to that of his exalted beneficence to the states of *Greece*? Is not all the ambition, luxury, and pride of *Rome*, mere folly and meanness, madness and misery, in comparison with this?

I AM much pleased, said the youngest of the company, to find this morning's conversation turn so much on *Greece*. I thought frequently of *that glorious country* yesterday, after we had been viewing the *Capitoline Musæum*, that noble collection of the monuments of *Roman* riches and power, adorned by *Grecian* art and science, by *Grecian* genius and industry.

IN the evening, having an hour's leisure, I took up a volume of *Livy*, and turned to the 31st book*, where mention is made of the *Lycæum*,
 & *quidquid sancti amænique erat circà urbem Atheniensem. Templâ Deum præsertim, quæ pagatim sacrata habebant, quibusque eximiè exornata erat terra Attica, & copiâ domestici marmoris, & ingeniis artificum.*

IT seemed to me much to the honour of the *Romans*, that the *Grecian* war (which succeeded to the second *Punic*) begins with an account of the *Roman* fleet assisting the *Athenians*; while the *Macedonian* troops were ravaging all the beautiful country round that city.

THIS morning also (I mention it as an excuse for not having attended you so early here as you appointed) I turned back to the twentieth book of
Frenshemius's

* Lib. xxxi. c. 24, 26, 30,

Chap. IV. TITUS FLAMININUS. 329

Frenshemius's supplement ; and read with particular pleasure that passage, which contains the account of the *Romans* having restored the liberty of *Coryra* ; in gratitude for which action, the *Atbenians* admitted the *Roman* nation to a share in the *Eleusinian* mysteries ; the *Corinthians* also gave them a public seat at the games of the *Isthmian Circus*, thus naturalizing them as *Grecians* *.

THAT *Isthmian Circus*, replied *Crito*, was the most remarkable scene of the benevolence of *Rome* to *Greece*. In viewing this *Roman Circus*, I wish we could now fancy ourselves in that of *Corinth*. If ever we should be so happy as to make the tour of *Greece*, with what pleasure shall we visit the spot of that *Isthmian Circus*, and there think of *Titus Flamininus*!

TITUS FLAMININUS.

IT was on his return from his great victory over the *Macedonians*, that *Titus Flamininus* marched into the heart of the territories of the *Grecian* states. *Greece* had been for several ages more or less oppressed by the *Macedonian* princes. It now lay entirely at the will of this *Roman* conqueror. *Expectatione omnes erant erecti, qui deinde futurus status Græciæ, quæ sua esset fortuna.*

He

* Lib. xx. c. 33.

HE encamped his victorious army on the *Corinthian Isthmus*, that most important pass, which commanded all the lands and seas of *Greece*.

It happened to be then the time of the *Isthmian* games; at the celebration of which, multitudes from all the cities of *Greece* constantly assembled in that place. While these numerous spectators were all sitting in the *Circus* there, a *Roman* herald entered the *Arena*, and with the sound of the trumpet ordering silence, made this solemn proclamation :

“THE SENATE OF ROME, AND FLAMININUS
 “THE CONSUL, HAVING SUBDUED PHILIP, AND
 “THE GREAT KINGDOM OF MACEDONIA, PRO-
 “CLAIM IT, AS THEIR PLEASURE, THAT THE
 “FOLLOWING NATIONS, THE CORINTHIANS,
 “ACHÆANS, PHOCIANS, EUBÆANS, THESSA-
 “LIANS, AND ALL THE OTHER NATIONS OF
 “GREECE, WHETHER IN EUROPE OR IN ASIA,
 “BE FROM THIS DAY DECLARED FREE.”

THE first time, that the herald made this proclamation, the vast audience stood totally silent : they scarce believed what they themselves heard : they looked one on another, as if they all thought it but a dream. But when the herald, being recalled, made the same proclamation the second time,

Chap. IV. TITUS FLAMININUS. 331

time, *tum ab certo jam gaudio maximus cum clamore plausus est ortus*; the universal acclamation was so loud, that birds, then flying over the *Circus*, dropt suddenly down dead; all the hills and shores resounded; and ships, far out at sea, felt the shock of the shout.

LEAVING the *Circus*, the whole assembly hastened to the tent of *Flamininus*; blessing him with many thousand voices for his nobleness of mind in forming so generous a design, and for his persevering fortitude in bringing it to effect; multitudes crowding, in excess of joy, to kiss the hand of their deliverer; others showering flowers and garlands on his head: his own heart doubtless, in the mean time, overflowing with abundance of happiness, (happiness, far superior to what was felt by any other person in that vast assembly) and with all the raptures of the consciousness of having performed so good an action.

FOR it is to *Flamininus* indeed that the glory of this action is to be peculiarly ascribed. *Liberandam omnem Græciam*; (said he at the meeting of the *Roman* commissioners) *si Ætolorum linguas retundere; si veram caritatem, majestatemque apud omnes nominis Romani vellent esse: si fidem facere, ad liberandam Græciam, non ad transferendum a Philippo ad se imperium, se mare trajecisse*.*

THE

* *Livy*, lib. xxxiii. c. 31.

THE conduct of *Flamininus*, during most part of the time that he resided in *Greece*, was not unworthy of so good a beginning. *Universa Græcia egregiè tum statu suo gaudebat.*

OF *Sparta* alone he did not complete the deliverance; and in that respect it must be owned, that his glory was defective. In excuse for this omission, *Flamininus* said, that if he had persevered in his endeavours to dethrone the tyrant *Nabis*, the city of *Sparta* itself must probably, in the course of the war, have been destroyed*.

BUT perhaps other *less amiable* reasons may be suggested, as his motives to this conduct. Perhaps also you, dear sir, (in saying this *Crito* turned to the eldest of his young friends) may be inclined to think, that as his troops received such a check at the attack of *Sparta*, *Flamininus* might be perhaps apprehensive, that the city of *Lycurgus* (though then in such decline, and under such tyranny) would not easily be taken even by a *Roman* army of 50,000 men.

BUT, whatever was the case of *Sparta*, *Flamininus* certainly placed most of the other states of *Greece* in the fullest freedom. He had delivered them from the *Macedonians*; he now withdrew all
his

* Vid. *Livy*, lib. xxxiv. c. 48.

Chap. IV. TITUS FLAMININUS. 333

his own troops and garrisons from them. He particularly evacuated those *three* strong places, which commanded the whole country, *Calcis*, *Demetrias*, and *Corinth*.

NOR was liberty the only benefit which he bestowed on the *Grecian* states. Like that modern *Italian* hero, *Andrew Doria*, whose sepulchral chapel you visited with such reverence while at *Genoa*; far from the mean and cursed policy of sowing party dissensions, and factious hatreds among the people, in order to render the power of a bad government irresistible by them all; *Flamininus* laboured (like a father among his children) to establish both a good government*, and its worthy companion, mutual and universal concord†.

WHEN

* See particularly his conduct to the *Thessalians*.

Livy, lib. xxxiv. c. 51.

† King *Lewis IX.* of *France*, commonly called *St. Louis*, was remarkable for the *same* noble spirit of government, in reconciling all the hatreds and dissensions among his nobility. In general indeed it may be remembered, that division is the strongest support of a bad government, and concord the strongest and wisest of a good one. The same virtuous king of *France* interposed his good offices also between the factions in *England*.

See *Hume's History* of *Henry III.* in the year 1263.

As to *Andrew Doria*, his character in this and some other particulars bears a strong resemblance to the conduct of *Flamininus* in *Greece*.

334 ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. Book II.

WHEN *Flamininus* took leave of the *Grecian* states, he generously and earnestly pressed this great and noble maxim on their memories, that the general internal concord of all *Greece* was the only method by which they could preserve to their country the blessings which they had now received from his hands; and by which they could render its liberty perpetually secure, and invincible by any future invasion from any foreign nation whatever*.

In gratitude for all these so many and so great benefits conferred, *Flamininus* desired to receive only one favour from them. *Hannibal* had, during his late furious war in *Italy*, made great numbers of *Romans* captive, and sold them as slaves. Many of these unhappy men were now in that sad condition in several parts of *Greece*; *Flamininus* therefore could not avoid hoping that the *Grecian* states would be pleased with this opportunity of repaying
in

* It is true, that *Greece* was at this time much degenerated from its former virtue and strength; but yet it still retained something of each. If *Greece* had been united, it would probably have been still able to defend itself against any enemy.

This opinion seems confirmed, by considering the great military abilities of *Philopæmen*, who was contemporary with *Flamininus*. *Terrestrium certaminum arte Philopæmen quemvis clarorum imperatorum vel usu vel ingenio æquabat.* Livii, lib. xxxv. c. 26.

This *Leban* commander would perhaps have been chosen by the *Greeks*, if united, as their chief general; and it is not at all improbable, that in that capacity he might have acquired as much glory in the defence of *Greece*, as any *Spartan* or *Athenian* general had ever gained at *Maratton* or at *Platæa*.

Chap. IV. TITUS FLAMININUS. 335

in some measure their obligations to *Rome*, by redeeming these captives, and thus as it were giving freedom to that very nation from which they had so lately received their own.

IN reading this last paragraph, *Crito* had addressed himself to the company in general: he now paused, and looked on the eldest of the young gentlemen.

THAT the *Romans* (continued he) were *sincere* at this time, in the delivery of *Greece*, and fully satisfied with the *glory* of being the authors of it, must seem very probable, even if we judge of their intentions only from their interest.

PLEASE to recollect, dear sir, that at this time the kings of *Macedonia* and *Syria* were the most formidable adversaries of *Rome*. But the liberty of *Greece* introduced a balance of power in the *Levant*, and formed perhaps the strongest kind of barrier against both those kings.

AFTERWARDS indeed, when both *Macedonia* and *Syria* were fully subdued, then it is true that the *Romans* planned schemes of more immoderate ambition, and swallowed up all the free states of *Greece* in the vast whirlpool of their power.

BUT

336 ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. Book II.

BUT these were *posterior* events; nor can we from them *with candour* argue, that the *Romans*, in thus giving liberty to *Greece*, were at this time *insincere*. That action seems really generous and noble, in respect of *Greece*, as well as very prudent in regard to what was then the interest of the *Roman* state.

IF *Antiochus* and *Perfes* had not been conquered, the *Grecian* states would probably have continued allies of *Rome*, but free in great measure from the *Roman* yoke. Even after those events, that yoke hung very light on them, in comparison of the weight with which it pressed down the necks of other nations. Their arts and sciences were their protection, when their arms failed. It seems indeed not improbable, that the inhabitants of *Greece* were in general much more happy, when under the *Roman* government, than ever before: such seems peculiarly to have been the case of *Athens*.

CRITO now rose from his seat, and led his young friends from the garden ground of the *Circus Maximus* out into the adjoining *Appian* way.

THE *Appian* way lies parallel and contiguous to the eastern side of the *Circus Maximus*. Near the
southern

Chap. IV. TITUS FLAMININUS. 337

southern end of that *Circus*, it is joined by another road coming from the church of *St. Gregory*.

THE *Roman* generals who were the conquerors of the several *southern* countries of *Europe*, as well as of *Asia* and *Afric*, entered *Rome* in triumph by the *Appian* way ; on which they proceeded as far as this point, where they turned up on their right hand towards the *Capitol**.

THE conquerors of *Lombardy*, *Gaul*, *Britain*, and other *northern* regions, entered the *Campus Martius* by the *Pons Triumphalis* ; of which bridge some remains are still to be seen near *Ponte St. Angelo*. From thence they proceeded by the *Circus* of *Flora*, the theatre of *Pompey*, the *Circus Flaminius*, the portico of *Octavia*, and *Marcellus's* theatre †, till they came to *this same point* on the *Appian* way, at the southern end of the *Circus Maximus*, where they also turned up on their *left* towards the *Capitol*.

OVER this spot where we now stand, said *Crito*, all the triumphal processions of *Rome* have passed. Shall I now wish for any animating eloquence to awaken your memory of the description of those proud and splendid pomps ? Ah ! no. Cold, cold

VOL. I.

Bb

as

* See *Abate Venuti's Roman Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 10.

† *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 105.

as ice, may our hearts ever remain to such thoughts.

AMONG all the innumerable conquerors, whose triumphal chariots have passed over this spot, few are they, who to a Christian mind are not justly the objects of detestation.

OF all the triumphs which have proceeded along this road, few, very few are those, from which a humane spectator ought not to have turned with horror.

YET among those few, there is one which even a *St. Austin* (when he expressed his desire of having seen *Rome* in its glory) might have rejoiced to have beheld.

THE triumphal entry of *Flamininus* on his return from *Greece*.

You will easily imagine I mean not on account of the richness of the spoils, or number of shackled captives which then attended the conqueror's chariot.

THE chariot of *Flamininus* was attended by TWO THOUSAND *Roman* citizens, whom he had released from captivity and slavery.

PERMIT

Chap. IV. TITUS FLAMININUS. 339

PERMIT me to read to you some few lines on this subject, which I have copied from *Valerius Maximus* *.

FLAMININI de Philippo rege triumphantis currum duo millia civium Romanorum pileata comitata sunt; quæ Punicis bellis intercepta vel dolo capta, & in Græciâ servientia, curâ suâ collecta in pristinum gradum restituerat. Geminum eâ re decus imperatoris; à quo simul & deviâti hostes & conservati cives spectaculum patriæ præbuerunt. Illorum quoque salus dupliciter omnibus accepta fuit, & quia tam multi, & quia tam grati exoptatum libertatis statum recuperaverunt.

BEFORE the same chariot were carried ONE HUNDRED and FOURTEEN golden crowns, the offerings of the several Grecian cities, to which he had given LIBERTY †.

B b 2

O MY

* Lib. v. c. 2, 6.

† It seems proper to add, in justice to the glorious memory of *Flamininus*, that some years afterwards, when the *Ætolian* nation had fallen under the displeasure of the *Roman* senate, on account of having stirred up the great war of *Antiochus* against the *Roman* state; *Flamininus* laboured to assist them in that heavy though just distress. (*Livy*, lib. xxxvi. c. 34. 35. and also lib. xxxvii. c. 1.) *Flamininus* forte quâdam nutriendæ Græciæ datus, ne ingratis quidem benefacere abstinere: though the *Ætolians* had been particularly insulting to *Flamininus*, ridiculing his piety, and depreciating his other virtues.

Livy, lib. xxxv. c. 33, 48.

340 ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. Book II.

O MY dear friends, cannot you imagine that you now see *this most glorious triumph* moving along *this road*?

LET us fix our eyes with pleasure on this most delightful spectacle.

IF such had been always the honours and pleasures of the great men of this famous nation; if *Rome* had thus sublimely placed its joy in doing good; and had sincerely always followed the exalted spirit of such truly majestic benevolence; making it the constant and real object of all its military labours, to deliver by its power all the neighbouring nations from oppression and tyranny, and thus to support in many different regions the great cause of justice and of liberty; how would the *Roman* history have then appeared?

WOULD it not upon earth have appeared as the honour of the history of human nature; and ascended also as a most sweet-smelling sacrifice to heaven?

ADDISON considers in that glorious light

*Rome, nurse of heroes, and delight of gods,
That humbled the proud tyrants of the earth,
And set the nations free.*

BUT

Chap. IV. TITUS FLAMININUS. 341

BUT alas ! we must own (continued *Crito*, after a considerable melancholy pause, turning his eyes to the ground) that far, far different are the *other* parts of the *antient Roman* history : in some parts, like the gulph of hell,

*Bis patet in præceptis tantum, tenditque sub umbras
Quantus ad ætherium cæli suspectus Olympum.*

GREAT wickedness was there at *Rome* even in the times of *Flaminius* ; and (what must have been particularly grievous to him) even in his own family.

EVEN his own character was not in all parts equally bright : the death of *Hannibal* (as you observed yesterday) is not any honour to him : the death of *Brachyllus* (however unworthy that *Bæotian* was of life) is a very great stain on his memory, if what *Polybius* says be true. Let us however be candid enough to remember, that *Livy* says nothing of the matter.

BUT let us not think of these hateful subjects. It is with *the good actions only* of the *Romans* that we have any concern. *These* you have happily proposed as the *sole* objects of your attention, during your present study of the *Roman* history : in the same manner, as during our travels through *Italy* (for the study of history may be considered

342 ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. Book II.

as in some respects analogous * to travelling) it has been your constant most happy rule, to shut your eyes to whatever was bad, but diligently to search out, and learn whatever was good in every place.



THE young nobleman's coach now driving up, the company got into it, and returned to their lodgings. In the way, the eldest of the young gentlemen mentioned that work of *Voltaire*, in which one of the Popes is highly commended for having (in a council held, I believe, at *Lyons*) abolished slavery throughout *Christendom*.

CRITO being willing to examine that piece of history, stopt at his bookfeller's shop in the *Corso* to consult some proper authors on that subject.

THE rest of the company proceeded on to their lodgings; but as they turned into the street which leads from the *Corso* into the *Piazza di Spagna*, they found it shaded from the heat of the sun, by great sheets of canvass stretched from the roofs of the opposite houses; the pavement clean, and fresh watered,

* *L'Orateur Romain relevoit fort l'histoire, parce qu'elle fait vivre avec tous les siècles : les voyages font exister avec toute l'humanité.* * *Besplas, Utilité des Voyages, relativement aux Sciences & aux Mœurs.*

Chap. IV. ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. 343

watered, and strowed with fragrant herbs and flowers. In passing by a church in that street, (over the porch of which is the statue of an angel releasing a Christian and Mahometan captive from their chains) they heard the sound of melody; melody, worthy even of *Corelli* or *Pergolesi*.

THIS church belongs to that most merciful and consequently best order, which is instituted for the relief and redemption of the poor Christian slaves in *Barbary*; and this day was one of the principal festivals of that order.

THE young gentlemen entered the church, and listened to the heavenly harmony. Tears of pleasure flowed down the cheeks of *Crito's* pupil. None of the young gentlemen departed from the church without having dropped some sequins into the charity-box by the side of the door.



THE company dined this day at the lodgings of *Crito's* pupil; but the heat of the weather had taken away all appetite for any thing on the table, except only for the broccoli, lettices, and other cooling vegetables, which are the delicious and justly boasted products of the *Roman* gardens. The company soon rose from table; *Crito's* pupil order-

ing the ice, fruit, and cool *Orvietto* wine to be carried to another more shady room, the windows of which looked to the North, and the brick floor of which was fresh watered. A glass door of that apartment opened into a little orange-garden, in which was a small jet d'eau.

WHILE *Crito* staid some few minutes in the dining-room to seal some packets, which were to go by the *English* post that afternoon, the young gentlemen went into this fresh apartment.

ABSTINENCE, said the eldest of the young gentlemen, seating himself on the leathern sofa, *seems* a very easy virtue in this climate. But surely all bodily labour is much more meritorious here than in *England*. Among the multitude of blessings which we enjoy there, without being duly sensible of, or grateful for them, that of the climate surely is not the least: if it was only on this account, that the coolness of our atmosphere takes off half the fatigue of all kinds of labour.

I SHOULD have thought that this melting *Roman* climate was a tolerable plea for indolence and *faineantise*, if the good inhabitant of this room, who hates idleness, and all its frivolous excuses, (I think this room is the apartment which you chose for *your tutor*) had not frequently reminded

us,

Chap. IV. ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. 345

us, that *Italy* was in antient times the seat of the greatest industry in works both of peace and war. Yesterday he reminded us of *Scipio's* laborious agriculture at *Liternum*: some few days before, he shewed us*, what you, I am sure, will never forget; I mean,

———*That Sabine field,
Where the great Censor toil'd with his own hands;
And all his frugal ancestors were blest
With humble virtues, and a rural life.*

Perhaps the bread, fruit, and wine on this table, may all come from fields antiently plowed and dug by consuls.

I wish, that imagination may recommend some of this fruit to you, replied *Crito's* pupil, with a benevolent smile, presenting to him one of the plates. When we are returned to *England*, perhaps I shall be able to offer you some of my own raising. By my father's directions, I planted some fruit-trees before I set out from home; and when returned thither, I intend to be a complete gardener, and perhaps a farmer too. Not that I shall presume to imitate any of the antient heroes and patriots either of *Rome*, or of the more scorching countries of *Greece* and *Palæstine*, (in saying this he

* See the fifth day's conversation, p. 166, 167. and the sixth, p. 210.

he took up *Fleury's Mœurs des Israelites*, which lay on the table) either in the toil of my hands, or sweat of my brow. I mean to give my attention only to rural affairs; such attention as may in time enable me to become my father's steward.

EXCLUSIVE of that consideration, surely some knowledge of agriculture must very considerably encrease the pleasures of a country life.

ON my return home, one of the first books which I shall take down from the shelves of my father's library, will perhaps be the collection of *Roman* writers (*Cato, Varro, and Columella*) *de re rustica*; a book, which I hope to find much more intelligible to me after this *Italian* tour, than what it was before.

IF I remember right, the treatise, or rather *book of receipts*, of the great *Sabine* farmer, whom you just now mentioned, contains several things not applicable to our soil or climate; some things also, which are very far from doing honour to the writer. But yet I can recollect some passages in it, which were particularly pleasing both to my father and my tutor:—*agri cultura maxime pius quæstus & stabilissimus; minimèque invidiosus: minimèque malè cogitantes sunt, qui in eo studio occupantur. Ne opera tua rustica parcas invisere, quoties ibis, toties magis*

Chap. IV. ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. 347

magis placebit, quod bonum est.—Primâ adolescentiâ agrum conferas—Vicinis bonus esto.—As for the treatises of *Varro* and *Columella*, they seem far more elegant. In the perusal of *them* I flatter myself that I shall find much entertainment.

MOST students admire *Rome* chiefly as a nation of *warriors*: you, dear sir, have much more satisfaction in considering this city as the great nursery of *orators*, *statesmen*, *magistrates*, and of the best *legislators* and *jurisconsults*, which the world ever saw. Perhaps I too may have my pleasure, in attending to the merit of the *Romans* in a third light, in their most humble, though certainly not useless, *rural* characters.

IF I am not mistaken, said the youngest of the company, *Cato Major* is described as excelling in several of these various capacities. You, dear sir, (speaking to *Crito*, who now came into the room) can inform us. *Cato Major* was contemporary with your *Scipio* and *Flaminius*; and probably you have, for our instruction, kindly drawn up some papers on the subject of his various virtues and abilities.

THERE is indeed replied *Crito*, a paper of some imperfect notes on that subject in my scrutoir; and I have been thinking, in what place I might

might with some propriety have the honour of presenting it to you. If there had been any ruins of the *Basilica Portia* in the *Campo Vaccino*, or any remains near the *Colline* gate, of that temple or senate-house in which *Cato's* statue was erected; if any fragments of the famous inscription on the basis of that statue had been preserved in any of the *Roman Museums**, I should probably have wished you to take your airing this evening to some of those places.

IN no place, replied the polite young nobleman, can we with more pleasure receive your instructions, than in your pupil's lodgings, and in your apartment. Sitting thus round your table, we can have the pleasure to imagine ourselves to be all of us your pupils; and to be met here at present to attend one of your afternoon's lectures. Besides, we are at present at leisure, but are engaged in company this evening.

I HOPE, replied *Crito*, never to hesitate in obeying your commands: if you order me, I will
take

* Ο δὲ μὲν ἀνδριαντὰ γὰρ ἀναθεῖς ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῆς υγιείας, ἐπιγράψεν ὃ τὰς στρατηγίας, ὃ δὲ τὸν θρίαμβον τῇ Κατῶν· ἀλλ' ὅτι τὴν Ῥωμαίων πολιτείαν ἐγκεκλιμένην καὶ ρεπέσαν ἐπὶ τὰ χεῖρα Τιμῆτος γενομένην, χρηταῖς ἀγωγαῖς, καὶ σωφροσιν ἰδισμοῖς, καὶ διδασκαλίαις εἰς ὅσον αὐτὸς ἀποκατέστη. PLUT.

Vid. VALERII MAX. lib. viii. c. 15.

take the paper out of the scrutoir ; it may perhaps have at least one good effect, that of disposing all this company to (what is the greatest refreshment in this climate) their afternoon's nap.

C A T O M A J O R.

THIS, my dear fellow-students, seems to be one of those many characters in the *Roman* history, which claim our attention on account of some particular virtues with which they are adorned, not on account of their merit in general.

THE character of *Cato Major* seems to resemble the field of *Egypt*, which is described by *Homer* as producing

Φαρμακα, πολλα μιν εσθλα μεμαγμενα, πολλα δε λυγρα.

LET us cast away all its weeds and poisonous plants, and make an extract of its virtuous parts only. Such an extract may, on proper occasions, prove an useful-medicine to our minds ; especially if we duly qualify and amend it, by the infusion of some more generous, as well as more mild and bland juices drawn from the leaves of the Christian tree of life.

THE

THE virtues of *Cato Major* seem to be chiefly these four.

1. INDUSTRY. His *youth* was diligently employed in rural and military labour. His *manhood* was chiefly exercised in the labours of the mind; though it never could be called inactive as to those of the body. *In senectute etiam* (as *Tully*, I think, observes) *semper agens erat aliquid & moliens*. I have noted down particularly what *Livy* says*. *In patientiâ laboris, erat ferrei propè animi corporisque: quem ne senectus quidem, que solvit omnia, fregerit.*

It was by his industry that he raised himself in the first part of his life; nor did he remit it when in his declining years, and when in the possession of the highest preferments.

He was constantly careful in the disposal of his time, being sensible of its great value.

2. BRAVERY. The ancestors of *Cato*, though in an humble rank of life, had been active and valorous in the military service of their country. He was zealous of their honours, and himself made his first campaign at seventeen years of age; at the time, while *Hannibal*, in the height of his success,

* Lib. xxxix. c. 40.

success, was most formidable. Nor were the youthful years of *Cato* elapsed, before his whole body was covered with scars of wounds, all received in *front*.

SUCH were his campaigns in *Italy*; he afterwards displayed his fortitude in other countries, but the most remarkable theatre of it was *Greece*.

NEAR *Thermopylae* was his bold night march among the precipices of mount *Æta*. Fired perhaps with the idea (in reading this passage, *Crito* turned towards his pupil) with the poetic idea, that he was then treading in the last steps of *Hercules*, and of his worthy descendant the Spartan king *Leonidas*; *Cato* from those rocks bravely attacked the *Asiatic* army: an attack, which you know was followed by the defeat of the *Asiatics*, and the expulsion of *Antiochus*, their vain and proud king, from *Europe*.

Excuse me for interrupting you, said *Crito's* pupil, rising to fetch a *Horace* from the next room, and turning to that ode which contains the following stanzas:

*Non his juventus orta parentibus
Infecit æquor sanguine Punico,
Pyrrhumque, & ingentem cecidit
Hannibalem, Antiochumque dirum:*

Sed

*Sed rusticorum mascula militum
Proles SABELLIS docta ligonibus
Versare glebas.*

Excuse me, but does it not seem probable, that in these lines *Horace* might intend a panegyric chiefly on *Curius*, and on his *SABINE* neighbour and imitator, *Cato Major*. I thought on these stanzas when we were at *Monte Portio*. But pray proceed.

3. His *third* remarkable virtue was *that of being able to live on little*. This virtue, my dear pupil, *Cato* originally learnt from the character of *Curius*; but it will be pleasing to you to recollect, that his love of it encreased on his being acquainted with the doctrines of *Plato* and *Pythagoras*.

CATO's diet was temperate, and poor; and its consequences were strength, health, and long life.

His private expences (continued *Crito*, addressing himself to the two other young gentlemen) were regulated with the strictest frugality: consequently *he was independent in his senatorial character*. Happy would it have been, if to this his senatorial integrity and incorruption he had added also a proper government of his own passions.

sions. The words, *delenda est Carthago*, would not then have disgraced his memory.

FRUGAL as *Cato* was in relation to his own fortune, he was equally so in respect of the public treasure, when committed to his care. Minute œconomy is not unnecessary even in the management of *national* revenues: you saw its amazing effects at *Berlin*.

FOR the illustration of *Cato's* character, particularly in regard to this *third* virtue, it may not be improper to consider particularly his government of *Spain*.

195.

FROM thence several useful lessons may be extracted, proper for the consideration of persons of rank and fortune, even though they should chuse to lead a quiet life on their own estates at home.

In Catone ea vis animi atque ingenii fuit, ut omnia maxima minimaque per se adiret atque ageret: nec cogitaret modo imperaretque quæ in rem essent, sed pleraque ipse per se transigeret; nec in quemquam omnium gravius severiùsque, quàm in semetipsum imperium exerceret; parsimoniâ & vigiliis & labore cum ultimis suorum certaret; nec quicquam præcipui, præter honorem atque imperium haberet.——Nemo

omnium imperatorum acrior virtutis spectator & judex.*

THERE is a part of *Cato's* conduct during his consulship in *Spain*, said the eldest of the young gentlemen, which I have often recollected, especially when in our travels through *Germany*, we passed near the camp of Lord *Granby*. *Cato* in his government of *Spain*, did not, to enrich himself, plunder any thing from the inhabitants; nor did he suffer his servants to commit any extortion. To his troops he allowed the fair profits of their great victories, and besides, gave to each man (I do not know whether I rightly understand the expression) *λιτραν αργυριu*: saying, it was better that all of them should return home, each with a moderate share of money, rather than some few only with an immense mass of wealth.

CATO himself, replied *Crito*, certainly acquired nothing from that *Spanish* expedition, except merely his support during it. One of his expressions would have highly pleased our *British* general: *βελομαι μαλλον περι αρετης* (that is, bravery) *τοις αριστοις, η περι χρηματων τοις πλεσιωτατοις η φιλαργυροτατοις αμιλλασθαι.*

4. THE

* Vid. *Liuy*, lib. xlii. c. 34.

4. THE *fourth* remarkable virtue in the character of *Cato Major* was his *zeal in supporting and reviving the antient virtues of his country.*

FOR the welfare of every society it is necessary in the first place, that it be originally well founded : and secondly, that there should from time to time rise in it some persons, who by their doctrines and examples may support and revive its first original principles, and thus secure it from mutability, degeneracy, and decay.

SAYING this, *Crito* suddenly paused, as if struck with some much higher thought, than those which were the subjects of the present conversation. He fixed his eyes on a picture (his pupil's present to him) which hung over the chimney-piece, and which represented part of the gospel-history. He then leaned his head on his hand, and looking down on the floor, proceeded with some hesitation as follows.

MY lips are by no means worthy to utter the name of that holy society, which was originally founded in the greatest perfection : I mean the great society of the *Christian* church. Let us join our humble wishes, that in it there may be constantly a great number of worthy persons, particularly of the ecclesiastical profession, ardently

356 ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. Book II.

imitating the labours and self-denials of their *primitive predecessors*; dead to luxury, pride, and avarice; in a word, *not of this world, as their first Master and original Founder was not of it* *.

ON other *inferior* societies, which have been founded in *imperfect* degrees of wisdom and virtue, it is also to be wished with *proportionable* earnestness, that in them there may frequently appear persons diligent in labouring to revive and to support their antient principals and manners. This perhaps is the dying wish of all true legislators.

SUCH was the character of *Cato Major*, when *Rome* was swiftly degenerating into voluptuousness, and all kinds of self-indulgence. His perseverance then, in continuing during his whole long life to imitate the industry and temperance of the antient *Romans*, was probably of great service to the state.

IT would have been much more so, if his character had been equally laudable, and full of dignity in all its parts. Imperfect as it was, it had probably a good effect, especially on the minds of those young men, who were able to distinguish his true merit, and were wise enough to give due attention to his real virtues, notwithstanding the
great

* See the gospel of St. *John*, xvii. 14, and again in ver. 16.

great defects with which they were unhappily mingled.

AMONG the *Romans*, who were then of a more advanced age, many probably approved and admired the merit of *Cato*. *Valerius Flaccus* was, on this account, his particular friend, and sincere patron.

IN your late studies of the history of the second *Punic* war, you must have often met with the name of that worthy nobleman. Permit me, dear sir, (continued *Crito*, turning towards the youngest and noblest of the company) to read to you a short quotation from *Plutarch* relative to him.

Ευπατριδης ην εν τοις μαλιστα Ρωμαιων, και δυνατος. To this he added a qualification very suitable to a nobleman at the head of the state: Αρετην Φορομενην αισθεσθαι δεινον ην, ευμενης δε και θρεψαι, και προαγαγειν επι δοξαν.

VALERIUS was resident on his estate in the country near *Frescati*, when he first heard of the character of *Cato*, who was then living in narrow circumstances in the neighbouring little town of *Monte Portio*. Moved with the account of his virtues,

358 ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. Book. II.

virtues*, *Valerius* took him under his protection; brought him to *Rome*; encouraged him to apply himself to public affairs; advanced him by his interest to posts of honour and power; rewarded his valour by a *colonel's* commission; and his frugality by an office in the *treasury*.

FROM the office of *tribune* and *quæstor*, *Cato* (by the force and strength of *his own* merit and abilities) rose continually†. He at length became the *associate of his patron* in the highest offices of the state, particularly of those of consul and censor.

It is *very* proper to add, that *it was by Cato's interest* that *Valerius* seems to have obtained the censorship. *Cato* then had the happiness also of performing another work of private *gratitude*, as well as of public *justice*, by naming his old patron *princeps senatûs*.

NEXT to *Valerius Flaccus*, *Fabius Maximus* was the person with whom *Cato* was most strongly connected

* It seems probable, that at this time *Cato's* virtues were not obscured by that moroseness and avarice which dishonoured his later years.

† *In hoc viro tanta vis animi ingenique fuit, ut, quocunque loco natus esset, fortunam sibi ipse facturum fuisse videtur.*

Livy, lib. xxxix, c. 40.

connected at his first entrance on public affairs. *Cato is said* to have made this connection, not so much on account of the high honour and power, of which that great man was then possessed; but much more on account of his character and manners of life: in these most important particulars *Cato* considered *Fabius* as one of the best living examples to which he could apply himself.

HAPPY would it have been, if his connection with *Fabius* had not been attended with an opposition to *Scipio*.

I OUGHT not to pretend to pass any judgment on the dissensions of such great men; (the dissensions of the great, whether living or dead, are not, thank God, my concern) but, as far as relates to *Cato*, I cannot but candidly and sincerely think, that his opposition to *Scipio* rose much more from his own *frugal* principles, than from any mean desire of making by it his court to *Fabius Maximus*.



COFFEE being now brought into the room, *Crito's* lecture was suspended for some few minutes. He was soon however desired by the company to resume it.

360 ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. Book-II,

AFTER having, said he, however weakly, endeavoured to pay due honour to the four principal *virtues* of *Cato's* character; we may now consider, as the next worthy objects of our attention, several of his *accomplishments*.

IN *military science*, he stands as high in fame as most of the *Roman* generals.

His *senatorial talents* were still more illustrious. For what talents can be imagined to have been more honourable or useful to a member of the *Roman* parliament (in saying this *Crito* turned towards the eldest of the young gentlemen) than *great eloquence*, accompanied with *great knowledge both of the laws and history of his country*.

IN relation to the *eloquence* of *Cato*, I shall not trouble you with any of my extracts from *Plutarch*, or from *Livy*; you, dear sir, must very well remember the high encomiums on it given by the *best judge*, *Tully*, in his treatise *de claris Oratoribus*.

WHAT shall I say in respect of the *other senatorial qualifications* of *Cato*?

IF a proper knowledge of the *English* law be (as I have heard you well observe) a very suitable
accomplish-

accomplishment for a member of the *English* legislature, the knowledge of the *Roman law* seems to have been still more highly useful to a *Roman* senator.

THE *Roman law* was of such a nature, as to be justly considered by a *Roman* senator, not only as the law of his country, but also as the law of wisdom and of justice,

THE *Roman law* is said to have been not improperly stiled some ages afterwards *lex rationis scripta*. Even in *Cato's* time (and perhaps by his means) it had made considerable advances towards that high state of perfection.

BUT I forget, that I am neither a civilian, nor a common lawyer; and consequently, that it is very foolish and impertinent in me to talk on such subjects.

BUT as to the study of the *history* of our country, we may venture to speak with more boldness; that study being part of the liberal education of every *Englishman*.

You particularly, dear sir, have already exerted much diligence in the pursuit of *that science*; not confining your enquiries to the events of later times,

times, but extending them to earlier ages. With pleasure have I listened to your reflections on those subjects, when in our summer excursions from the university we visited in different countries the ivy-clad ruins of the palaces of the *Plantagenet* family; and especially when we last passed a day at *Windsor* in that castle, where the *antient* magnificence of *English* royalty still appears in splendor.

CATO studied the antient history of his country with such diligence, as to become himself, in process of time, one of the most considerable writers on that subject.

For the instruction of his son, whose education was his favourite object, and greatest care *, he composed his *Origenes*. But the book being lost, I can only refer you to what the ancients say of it.

NEXT

* In justice to the merit of *Cato*, this his care of the education of his son ought to have been particularly remembered. Καλον εργον, εις αρετην παιδαγωγειν τον μου. PLUT.

This education is said to have proved very successful in several respects. (See his character in *Tully de Sen. Eule.*) In the battle of *Pydna*, *Cato Major*'s son behaved almost as nobly, as the son of *Cato Minor* did at *Philippi*.

Cato Major is said, by *Plutarch*, to have been both a good father, and a good husband; and to have thought the last character (that of a good husband) to be much superior to that of a great senator.

NEXT to the *literary* accomplishments of *Cato*, let us consider (my dear pupil) his *rural* talents.

THE love and study of rural affairs is perhaps one of the most *naturally pleasing* parts of his life. The regard and reverence, which is generally paid to his memory, is perhaps chiefly to be ascribed to *Tully's* amiable description of *this* part of his character.

I REMEMBER with great pleasure, that during the last week which I had the honour of passing at the noble country seat of your worthy father, my kind patron, I found him early one morning sitting in an arbour of his garden, and viewing from thence one of his adjoining fields, which was then full of reapers. Perhaps he is now in the same place, like *Laertes*, *leniens desiderium, quod capit e filio, colens agrum*.

By him on the bench lay *Tully's Cato Major de Senectute*, open at that place, where the author describes the pleasures which an elderly person may find in the amusements of gardening and agriculture. The book was open at that page, but unattended to: your loving father's thoughts being wholly taken up with the loss which he was soon to feel of your company.

To

To divert those thoughts, I turned the conversation to the character of *Cato Major*, as described by *Tully*. He seemed to thank me for the relief, and for some time talked on this part of *Cato's* character. But soon did he return to that other subject, of which his heart was full,

How glad, said he, should I be to travel with my son, if my age would allow it! I have had the happiness to shew him, in several parts of *England*, (particularly on his dear mother's estate in *Norfolk*) the great improvements lately made by agriculture. Nor should I have less rational satisfaction in observing with him the various husbandry of *Holland*, *Flanders*, *Switzerland*, and *France*: of *France* particularly, as the love and patronage of rural industry has been endeavoured to be planted in the hearts of the young royal family of that country by the wisdom both of *Fleury* * and *Fenelon*.

THE agriculture of *Italy* also must be a very pleasing object: how much do I envy you the pleasure which you will enjoy in seeing the vineyards and olive-gardens of *Lombardy*, *Tuscany*, and *Naples*; and in hearing my dear son talk there of *Virgil's* Georgicks. With what heart-felt happiness did I, some few evenings past, hear him read to me

* See FLEURY's *Mœurs des Israélites*.

me the *introduction* of a new book, called *Lisse's* Husbandry.

SUCH then were your dear father's thoughts.— But pardon me, my good pupil, I see you are much affected.—Let us return to *Cato*.

I WISH you had said (replied the worthy youth) let us return *home*.—But pray proceed.

THESE, said *Crito*, seem to be the principal *virtues* and *accomplishments* of *Cato Major*.

FROM these, no doubt, several useful lessons might be extracted. May you, my dear fellow-students, duly profit by them! But why do I confine my wishes within such narrow bounds? It is with the greatest pleasure that I foresee that you will *add* to them several *far more sublime*, that is, CHRISTIAN virtues.

IN the first place, to great merit you will add great modesty. — Your hearts will be full of true *humility*, and consequently no vain recital of your own praises will ever proceed from your lips.

SECONDLY, In your several spheres of life, you will always be animated with sufficient fortitude of mind to dare to discourage, oppose, and prevent
(as

366 ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. Book II.

(as much as may be in the utmost stretch of your power) the bad designs of other men. *Μοριον, & μικρας αξιον σπαδης.* But as this noble spirit will be totally clear from any mixture of envy, or of any other bad passion rising in your own breasts, you will not be fond of finding fault unnecessarily.

IN the great assemblies of the nation, you, dear sirs, will not ever *willingly* disturb the peace of the public; nor ever carry your opposition to any great man one single step farther than justice, humanity, and candour will allow.

IN the lesser circles of society, that is, in your own family, and in your country neighbourhood, you, my dear pupil, will consider it as one of your greatest honours and felicities, to be continually employed in preserving, not only your own peace and tranquillity, but that also of those who shall have the happiness to live around you. You will in this respect gladly imitate *Cato's* conduct in his country life, a conduct far more amiable than that which he followed in the *Forum* and senate-house of *Rome*. In the country, *Κατωτος τραπεζα μαλις α φιλοποιος ην*: in the conversation at that table, much praise was there of worthy men; much silence as to those who were unworthy.

THIRDLY,

Chap. IV. ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. 367

THIRDLY, You will all certainly take due care of your estates, nor waste them either by extravagance, or by (what is almost equally ruinous) negligence and inattention. This you know to be your duty on several accounts. Gratitude and respect to the great Giver of all; justice and love to your own families and posterities; both these considerations will enforce upon you the necessity of such prudent management. But, on the other hand, you will be content with your fortunes, you will not be eager nor solicitous for their increase; you will consider the good works, *for which* wealth was entrusted to you. You will joyfully employ *great* part of your annual incomes in *abundant* works of charity. Charity is one of the noblest ends of œconomy.

Most miserable indeed and wretched is that frugality, which gradually degenerates into covetousness; and which labours, not that it may have wherewith to give more abundantly to the sick and needy, but merely to amass more and more wealth in its own coffers.

WHILE I was with you at *Milan*, in the beginning of last *November*, I passed some days with great pleasure in abridging, from *Oltrocchi's* memoirs, the life of cardinal *Charles Borromeo* *: a
life

* Published at *Milan*, at the printing-house of the *Ambrosian* library, 1751.

368 ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. Book II.

life full of instruction to all persons, especially to those of that sacred profession, of which I am unworthy to bear the name.

BORROMEO was as laborious, frugal, and abstemious as *Cato Major*: but infinitely more glorious was the purpose at which he aimed.

CRITO was proceeding, when the conversation was interrupted by the arrival of some other company; he had however just time enough to take a paper out of his scrutoir, and deliver it to his young friends for their private perusal.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

TENTH DAY'S CONVERSATION.

*C*RITO having occasion to examine some *Greek* ecclesiastical manuscripts in the *Vatican* library, his young friends accompanied him thither this morning. But on entering the anti-chamber of the library, they were informed that the Abate, who had the care of those manuscripts, was just gone to attend the cardinal librarian, and probably would not be returned this hour.

As an employment during that interval, the youngest of the company proposed to visit some of the apartments in the *Vatican* palace. Adjoining to the *Vatican* library stands (a most proper companion to it) a *stately* gallery, the spacious walls of which are adorned with several large geographical paintings*.

VOL. I.

D d

IN

* This stately gallery was built from a design of *Michael Angelo*, and painted by *Marco di Faenza*, and other masters. *Danti Perugino*, a monk of the *Dominican* order, and an expert geographer, painted the maps. The length of this gallery (according to *Taja's* description of it) is 540 *Roman* palms, that is, about 405 *English* feet.

A second gallery of 177 *English* feet, and a third of 97, are joined to it; so that the whole length of the three galleries together is 679 *English* feet, all in one straight line.

The

370 ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. Book II.

IN this gallery the company passed a considerable part of the morning, waiting for the Abate; in the mean time their conversation turned on various subjects.

WITH what diligent attention, said the eldest of the young gentlemen, looking on the map of the *Campagna di Roma*, did *Polybius* probably, during his residence here at *Rome*, study the geography of this part of *Italy*? *Latium*, and the neighbouring districts, were then probably the great objects of his contemplation; as *Gallia Cisalpina* and *Spain*, *Barbary*, *Asia Minor* and *Macedon*, were afterwards; while he was travelling through those countries, in order to qualify himself to write the history of the great events lately happened in them.

O MY dear sir, (continued he, turning to *Crito*) how much has the republic of letters suffered by the loss of the greatest part of that most accurate and impartial history? What an honour would it be

The second gallery is adorned with several designs of *Domenichino*; and the third, with several busts of the antient poets and philosophers.

The maps, which are the chief ornament of the first gallery, represent all the different states of modern *Italy*, according to the inscription over the grand entrance.

Italia regio totius orbis nobilissima—tota in tabulis longo utrimque tractu explicatur. Fornix ostendit pia sanctorum virorum facta locis in quibus gesta sunt ex adversum respondentia.

See *Traja's Description del Palazzo Vaticano*, p. 285.

Chap. V. ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. 371

be to some of the *Neapolitan* literati, if on a thorough examination of the antient *Greek* manuscripts lately dug out of the ruins of *Herculaneum**, they could discover if it were only a book or two of those parts of *Polybius*'s history, which are now wanting?

IF at present, replied *Crito*, I was to wish for the recovery of any *peculiar* part of that work, it would be for those books, in which the actions of *Paulus Æmilius* were fully related. *Polybius* probably had thoroughly examined and duly weighed every part of that character.

IT is an additional misfortune that the forty-fifth book of *Livy* is defective, and the forty-sixth entirely lost.

D d 2

ON

* The *Greek* manuscripts found in the ruins of *Herculaneum*, and now preserved in the royal *Musæum* at *Portici*, are said to be four or five hundred in number. Of these, two manuscripts only have been yet thoroughly examined: one of them is a treatise on the *Epicurean* philosophy; the other is a work of *Philodemus* on the subject of music.

It is not yet known what the other manuscripts are. Cardinal *Spinelli*, while archbishop of *Naples*, proposed, that his *Sicilian* Majesty should distribute thirty or forty of them in the following manner; that is, should make a present of one or two of these manuscripts to each of the principal universities *Europe*. By these means perhaps some safe and tolerably expeditious method might have been already invented of unfolding these manuscripts, and discovering their (perhaps invaluable) contents.

ON *Plutarch* then must we chiefly rely in forming our idea of *Paulus Æmilius*.

IF I am not mistaken, replied the eldest of the young gentlemen, our learned countryman, Mr. *Hooke*, has represented *Æmilius*'s character in a very different light from most other authors, whether antient or modern.

I AM sure, replied *Crito*, that I ought not to presume to find fault with a work so generally and on many accounts so justly and highly esteemed as Mr. *Hooke*'s *Roman* history. Let me venture to say this only, that where Mr. *Hooke* is of the contrary opinion to *Plutarch*, (as in this character of *Æmilius*, and in those of *Marcellus* and *Flaminius*) it would be extreme folly in me to pretend to judge. I ought duly to respect Mr. *Hooke*, but I ought also to retain due reverence to the learning and candour of *Plutarch*.

IT is from *Plutarch*'s life of *Æmilius* that I have chiefly extracted this paper of notes. Pardon me, sir, for my impertinence; but we seem at present to have some leisure time on our hands. Why may we not employ it in following the course of our usual studies? we are as much retired in this noble gallery as we could be in any other place.

ON

Chap. V. ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. 373

ON our first arrival at *Rome*, when I was laying the *plan* of this course of studies, I propos'd to ask your opinion on the character of *Paulus Æmilius*, at some time, when you should chance to be on the spot of that antient fabrick, known by the barbarous name of *Magnanapoli*, or *Bagnanapoli* *. But on better instruction since received from your learned antiquarian, I have dropt that design. He informs me, that there is no probability of truth in the common opinion, that *Paulus Æmilius* had any concern in the erection of that building, whatever it originally was.

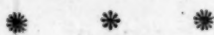
THE company readily approving *Crito's* proposal, he sat down, and laid on the table some papers of notes. His pupil in the mean time shut the door of the gallery,

D d 3

L. PAULUS

* A strange corruption of the words *Balnea Pauli*. This ruin is placed in the valley between the *Capitoline* and *Quirinal* hills.

Vid. *Abate Venuti*, vol. i, p. 75.



L. PAULUS ÆMILIUS.

IF we take a general view of the manners of Rome during the life of *Æmilius*, we shall find them much, though not yet totally, corrupted by prosperity.

PRIDE and cruelty, luxury, avarice, and perfidy, then indeed disgraced some of its most noble families. But, on the other hand, several antient houses seem still to have retained in a considerable degree their antient virtues.

As these different sorts of men prevailed on different occasions in the senate or in the army, the *Roman* history during this period frequently bears a very different appearance. In some pages of it we find recorded several very unjust and dishonourable actions; in others, several that are truly glorious*.

SUCH

* See particular'y the noble decree of the *Roman* senate in the 178th year before the christian æra. *Nullos alicuiquam, qui nati liberi sunt, in servitutem dari placere.* The *Roman* senate about the same time did several acts of justice to the *Ligurians*, (when oppressed by the *Popili*) to the *Carthaginians*, *Grecians*, and other nations.

But how wretchedly contrary was the behaviour of that same assembly on other occasions? See particularly *Livy*, book ii, c. 47.

SUCH seems to be the mingled scene which presents itself to the mind of the student, while he is perusing those fragments of *Polibius* and of *Livy*, which relate to the history of these times.

THE *Roman youth* however are said in general to have been still educated in great modesty and temperance, in great reverence and obedience to the antient laws of their country. Among these *Paulus Æmilius* made a distinguished figure.

ON entering into the world, he did not endeavour to rise to the public honours by any of the usual arts of popularity, but was diligent in laying a sure foundation of a far more noble and durable reputation; a reputation founded in sincere virtue and uncorrupted integrity.

IN his military profession he did not aim by flattery and false indulgence to court the favour of the soldiery; but was industrious in studying and practising what he afterwards taught and enforced, I mean that antient fortitude, conduct, and rigid discipline, which was the foundation of the power and prosperity of his country.

THE first offices of the state to which he arose were those of *edile* and *augur*.

376 ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. Book. II.

ABOUT the time that his brother-in-law, *Scipio, Africanus*, was carrying on the war in *Asia* against *Antiochus*, *Æmilius* was appointed *prætor*, and sent to command the war in *Spain*. By his military conduct there he subdued the enemies in the field, and made himself master of two hundred and fifty of their towns. By his *civil* wisdom he then quieted the whole country, and leaving it in peace, returned to *Rome* with this great additional honour, that during his administration of the affairs of so large and so rich a province, he had not sullied his hands or heart by any the least lucre to himself.

RISEING to the *consulship*, he commanded the war in *Piemont*; he continued there as pro-consul during part of the following year.

DURING this time he defeated the army of the enemy, which was five times more numerous than his own; and totally subdued all the *maritime* power of the *Ligurian* coast, which at that time was by its piracies formidable through all the western parts of the *Mediterranean*. It is remarkable, that in this war, as well as in that of *Spain*, he behaved constantly with great clemency to the enemy.

AFTER the conclusion of this campaign, we find him for near fifteen years retired to private life;

life; yet employing his time in a manner very honourable and happy to himself, and very useful to his country. For he was the best of fathers; and gave his attention wholly to the education of his children,

His two daughters he rendered worthy to be married, one into the *Ælian*, the other into the *Cato* family; his two sons worthy to be adopted, one as the heir of the house of *Fabius Maximus*, the other of that of *Scipio Africanus*.

It is remarkable, that he educated his sons, not only in the *Roman* learning, but also in that of *Greece*; being perhaps influenced in favour of a *Grecian* education, by the consideration that his family was lineally descended from the great *Pythagoras*. Among the many *Grecian* arts and sciences, in which these youths were instructed, you, dear sir, (in saying this *Crito* respectfully turned to the youngest and noblest of the company) will not be displeased to hear that *painting* and *sculpture* are expressly named.

ÆMILIUS was now advancing to his sixtieth year, when he was called to the consulship, and to the command of the great and heavy war in *Macedonia*; as your *Marcellus* was, at the same age,

age, to his last consulship and campaign against *Hannibal*.

Canitiem premimus galeâ.

The *merit* of these great *Romans* was indeed continually calling them forth to new honours and new labours; nor was there any time of life from their earliest youth to their most advanced age, which they ever pleaded as an excuse for declining the public service.

THIS part of their character, dear sir, (continued *Crito*, addressing himself to the eldest of the young gentlemen) is, I am confident, peculiarly agreeable to *your* way of thinking. With peculiar pleasure must *you* form to yourself the idea of the *venerable* appearance of *Æmilius* on this occasion. Highly glorious indeed did he then appear; for to the splendor of his own merit must be added that of his valiant sons, and sons-in-law, who accompanied him in this campaign. The behaviour of young *Cato*, *Scipio*, and *Fabius*, must have added very considerably to his glory, and very greatly to his happiness.

LET us in our thoughts follow the progress of this campaign. The campaign of *Æmilius* in
Macedonia

Macedonia may perhaps be considered in some respects as a good specimen of the whole military history of *Rome*; for military *success* is the natural consequence of military *merit*.

ÆMILIUS was full of valour, full of conduct. He was constant in supporting the discipline of the army; and indefatigable himself in labour both of body and mind. To industry he added perpetual implorations of the divine assistance.

THE great success of that campaign is so well known, as not to need any repetition. *The battle of Pydna is one of the most celebrated events in the history of the world.*

SAYING this, *Crito* laid aside his paper of notes, and leaning his head on his hand (in his usual posture of meditation) seemed quite absorbed in some deep thought. After a silent pause of some few minutes, he resumed his discourse in the following manner.

IF your proposed tour through *Greece* should take effect, you will doubtless visit the great natural curiosity of that country; I mean, mount *Olympus*. The poetic fables which you learnt at *Westminster*, will doubtless excite in you great desire of ascending to the top of that famous mountain;

mountain; the real grandeur of the prospect from thence will probably repay all your fatigue.

By some of the antient geometricians, that mountain is said to measure ten furlongs, or one mile and a quarter in height. One of our countrymen owns it to be visible at seventy miles distance*. The prospect from its highest ridge must consequently be very extensive, on one hand over the hills and plains of *Macedonia* and *Thessaly*, on the other over many promontories and bays of the *Macedonian* and *Ægean* seas.

BUT in all that rich and various prospect, the spot, which will probably most engage your attention, will be the field which lies at the foot of the mountain, the field of *Pydna*.

LOOKING down from the high cliffs of mount *Olympus*, you will probably then fully recollect *Plutarch's* poetic description of the great *Macedonian* army, as drawn out in long array of battle on that field. Your ardent imaginations will form such strong ideas of all the pomp and pride of its appearance, as to incline you to fancy yourselves really then spectators of its review.

NEVER

* See Dr. *Brown's Travels*, page 34, 35, where some account is given of the difficulties and dangers in ascending this mountain; and particularly of a very poisonous spring which rises on it, and of which all travellers ought to be very cautious.

NEVER had *Macedon* such an army. That with which *Alexander* the Great conquered the world was not comparable to this.

BUT ah! how suddenly it is scattered by the storm of war? The royal banner is beat down! the phalanx broke! the infantry slaughtered! the cavalry flying away in distant clouds of dust! the kingdom of *Macedon* is fallen.

CRITO paused. The whole company sat silent.

PARDON me, said he, for this unaccustomed stile; but indeed the great catastrophe of the *Macedonian* empire has dwelt so strongly on my mind, both sleeping and waking, for these last twelve hours, as to affect me in a very unusual manner.

BUT let me proceed in the plain narrative stile. From *Pydna* *Æmilius* marched to *Pella*.—

I BEG pardon for interrupting you, dear sir, said *Crito's* pupil; but as you kindly informed me yesterday evening of the subject of this present lecture, I have been preparing myself for it this morning, by reading before breakfast *Livy's* account of that conquest of *Macedon*; an account,
which

which is probably (as you told me) imperfectly copied from the works of *Polybius*. I should be very glad to find in the apartments belonging to the great library below stairs something analogous to the noble furniture of this gallery; I mean, some large and tolerably exact charts of *Greece* and *Macedon*. The common maps of *Macedonia* are, according to your Dr. *Brown's* observation, very imperfect and incorrect *. But perhaps since his time, its geography may have been much corrected and improved by some later travellers; and possibly the learned persons, who have the care of this vast repository of learning, may have thought such a chart very worthy of a place in it.

I QUESTION much, said the youngest of the company, if any modern traveller has surveyed *Macedon* with due attention. As an instance of this, I do not remember to have ever, in any book of travels, met with a description of the present state of the city of *Pella*; yet surely there must be something *worthy of the curiosity of a traveller*; surely there must be some remains of antient magnificence to be seen still in that city, which was the birth-place of *Alexander* the Great, and the chief residence of all his successors on the
Macedonian

* He that travels into *Macedonia* will never be able to reconcile the position of rivers and towns to their usual descriptions in maps. Dr. *Brown's* Travels from *Vienna* to *Larissa*, p. 51.

Macedonian throne for above a century and an half.

IF we should be so fortunate as really to make the tour of *Greece*, replied *Crito*, I hope that neither the plague nor banditti will hinder us from making an excursion from *Salonicki* to that city.

I REMEMBER that *Livy* describes its situation to be very grand. *Urbem non sine causâ delectam esse regiam* *. May you, dear sir, find there some remains *veteris regię Macedonum* worthy of the attention of a person, who with true taste applies himself to the study of antient architecture. But how happy would you be, my dear pupil, if while we are surveying the environs of *Pella*, your steps should be led to the tomb of *Euripides*? With what satisfaction will you there recollect some of his *Chori* or *Jambics*, which elegantly describe the short duration of all human grandeur? a lesson of moral reflection, strongly exemplified by the scene then before your eyes.

I BORROWED your *Livy* last night, and read part of the 45th book, which concludes with the taking of *Pella*. By way of amusement afterwards, I took up *Le Bruyn's Travels*, and opened the second volume at the description of the ruins
of

* Lib. xliv. c. 46.

of *Persepolis*. I was instantly struck with the contrast between the times of the grandeur, and of the fall of the *Macedonian* empire. The defeat of *Pydna* seemed then to me but a small atonement for the slaughters at *Arbela*; the taking of *Pella* but a small punishment for the destruction of *Persepolis*.

DURING the whole night my thoughts have dwelt on the mortality of all human grandeur. *Persepolis* is now the habitation only of shepherds; *Pella* is probably the same. How full of truth is that inscription, which some thoughtful *Arabian* traveller has engraved on one of the ruined walls of that palace of *Darius* *.

Every thing shall pass away :
GOD alone shall endure for ever.

BUT pardon me, my dear friends, for this second digression. The nature of conversation is such, as to be perpetually inclined to wander from its principal subject: besides this excuse, I might with truth add, that due reflections on the vicissitudes of all human affairs, seem to be the best and most important lessons which can be extracted from the history of *Æmilius*.

FROM

* Vid. *Le Bruyn's View of Persepolis*, plate 136.

FROM *Pella* he continued his victorious march to *Amphipolis*, near which place the king of *Macedon* was surrendered to him.

ON the approach of this royal captive *Æmilius* is said to have burst into tears. Hard indeed must have been that heart, which was not moved at such a spectacle.

IN a private conversation soon afterwards with his sons, *Æmilius* expressed much wisdom and moderation on this event. It was with peculiar pleasure that I copied last night from *Plutarch* the following paragraph relative to that conversation.

Αἰμίλιος, Περσεα μὲν ἀνασησας καὶ δεξιωσάμενος, Τεβερωνι παρέδωκε· Αὐτὸς δὲ τὰς παῖδας καὶ τὰς γαμβρὰς, καὶ τῶν ἀλλῶν ἡγεμονικῶν μαλίστα τὰς Νεωτέρους, ἐσωτὴς σκηνῆς ἐπισπασάμενος, πολὺν χρόνον ἦν πρὸ αὐτοῦ σιωπῇ καθήμενος· ὥστε θαυμάζειν ἀπαντὰς· Ὁρμήσας δὲ περὶ τῆς τύχης καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων διαλεγέσθαι πραγμάτων.

Ἀρα γέ (εἶπεν) ἀξίον, εὐπραγίας παρσῆς, ἀνθρώπων οὐτὰ θρασυνέσθαι, καὶ μέγα φρονεῖν, ἐάν τις ἢ πόλιν ἢ βασιλείαν κατὰ σρεψάμενον; ἢ τὴν μεταβολὴν ταύτην τῆς τύχης, ἢ παραδειγμάτων τῶν πολεμικῶν τῆς κοινῆς ἀσθενείας προδείξαι, παιδεύει μὴδὲν ὡς μόνιμον καὶ βεβαίον διανοεῖσθαι; Ποιὸς γὰρ ἀνθρώποις τὸ θάρρειν καίριον, ὅταν τὸ κρατεῖν ἑτέρων, μαλίστα

of *Persepolis*. I was instantly struck with the contrast between the times of the grandeur, and of the fall of the *Macedonian* empire. The defeat of *Pydna* seemed then to me but a small atonement for the slaughters at *Arbela*; the taking of *Pella* but a small punishment for the destruction of *Persepolis*.

DURING the whole night my thoughts have dwelt on the mortality of all human grandeur. *Persepolis* is now the habitation only of shepherds; *Pella* is probably the same. How full of truth is that inscription, which some thoughtful *Arabian* traveller has engraved on one of the ruined walls of that palace of *Darius* *.

Every thing shall pass away :
GOD alone shall endure for ever.

BUT pardon me, my dear friends, for this second digression. The nature of conversation is such, as to be perpetually inclined to wander from its principal subject: besides this excuse, I might with truth add, that due reflections on the vicissitudes of all human affairs, seem to be the best and most important lessons which can be extracted from the history of *Æmilius*.

FROM

* Vid. *Le Bruyn's View of Persepolis*, plate 136.

FROM *Pella* he continued his victorious march to *Amphipolis*, near which place the king of *Macedon* was surrendered to him.

ON the approach of this royal captive *Æmilius* is said to have burst into tears. Hard indeed must have been that heart, which was not moved at such a spectacle.

IN a private conversation soon afterwards with his sons, *Æmilius* expressed much wisdom and moderation on this event. It was with peculiar pleasure that I copied last night from *Plutarch* the following paragraph relative to that conversation.

Αἰμίλιος, Περσεα μὲν ἀναστῆσας καὶ δεξιωσάμενος, Τεβερωνὶ παρέδωκε· αὐτὸς δὲ τὰς παῖδας καὶ τὰς γαμβρὰς, καὶ τῶν ἀλλῶν ἡγεμονικῶν μαλιστα τὰς Νεωτέρους, ἐσωτῆς σκηνῆς ἐπισπασάμενος, πολὺν χρόνον ἢ πρὸ αὐτῶ σιωπῇ καθήμενος· ὥστε θαυμάζειν ἀπαντὰς· Ὁρμήσας δὲ περὶ τῆς τύχης καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων διαλεγέσθαι πραγμάτων.

Ἀρα γὰρ (εἶπεν) ἀξίον, εὐπραγίας παρσῆς, ἀνθρώπων οὐτὰ θρασυνέσθαι, καὶ μέγα φρονεῖν, ἐάν τις ἢ πόλιν ἢ βασιλείαν κατὰ σρεψάμενον; ἢ τὴν μεταβολὴν ταύτην τῆς τύχης, ἢ παραδειγμάτων τῶν πολεμικῶν τῆς κοινῆς ἀσθενείας προδείξαι, παιδεύει μὴδὲν ὡς μόνιμον καὶ βεβαίον διανοεῖσθαι; Ποιοὶ γὰρ ἀνθρώποις τὰ θάρρειν καί τις, ὅταν τὸ κρατεῖν ἑτέρων, μαλιστα

δεδοικεναι την τυχην αναγκαζη, και τω χαιροντι
 δυσθυμιαν επαγη τοσαυτην ὅ της περιφερομενης και
 προσισαμενης αλλοῖ αλλοις ειμαρμενης λογισμῶ; ἢ
 την Αλεξανδρε διαδοχην ὅς επιπλεισον ηρθη δυ-
 ναμews, και μεγιστον εσχεν κρατῶ, ὥρας μιας μοριω
 πωσθσαν ὑπο ποδας θεμενοι, και τες αρτι μυριασι
 πεζων κ' χιλιασιν ἵππων τοσαυταις οπλοφορεμενης
 βασιλεις ορωντες εκ των πολεμιων χειρων εφημερα
 σιτια και ποτα λαμβανοντας, οισθε τα καθ' ημας
 εχειν τινα βεβαιωηλα τυχης διαρκη πρῶ τον χρονον;
 'Ου καταβαλοντες υμεις, οι Νεοι, το κενον φρυαγμα
 τετο και γαυριαμα της νικης, ταπεινοι καταπηζετε,
 πρῶ το μελλον αιει καταδοκωητες, εις οτι κατα-
 σκηψει τελῶ εκασω την της παρσης ευπραγιας
 ο Δαιμων νεμεσιν;

Τοιαυτα φασι πολλα διαλεχθεντα τον Αιμιλιον
 αποπεμψαι τες νεες, ἑυ μαλα το καυχημα και την
 υβριν, ὡσπερ χαλινω τω λογω κοπτοντι, κεκο-
 λασμενες*.

IN

* *Livy gives most of the sense of this Greek passage in a few words:*

*Consilio dimisso, tuendi cura Regis Q. Aelio mandatur. Eo die
 et invitatus ad Consulem Perseus, et alius omnis ei bonus habitus
 est, qui haberi in tali fortunâ poterat.—Emilius locutus est Græco
 sermone Perseo; Latine deinde suis.*

*Exemplum insigne cernitis, inquit, mutationis rerum humanarum.
 Vobis hoc precipue dico, juvenes. Ideo in secundis rebus nihil
 in quemquam superbe ac violenter consulere decet, nec præsentem cre-
 dere fortunæ; (quum, quid vester ferat, incertum sit.) Is demum
 vir erit, cujus animum nec prospera flatu suo efferet, nec adversa
 infringet.*

IN this private conversation, the goodness of the heart of *Æmilius* seems to disclose itself much more fully than in his public actions.

CRITO's countenance now changed. With manifest uneasiness and vexation of mind he proceeded as follows.

The great fault of *Æmilius*'s character seems indeed to be this: he seems (notwithstanding his spirited speech in the *Forum*) to have stood in too great awe of his countrymen; and to have very unjustifiably done many things for the indulgence of their pride and cruelty, which his own heart never could have suggested to him.

THIS perhaps may account for his strange behaviour on his first *public* reception of king *Perses*. *Æmilius* on that occasion shewed great marks of a generous compassion: but mixed with these, we must own, there are some things which to us justly appear very shocking. They perhaps might please the *Roman* officers, who surrounded his consular chair, but must be highly disagreeable to all Christian readers.

SOME few weeks afterwards *Æmilius*, leaving the care of the army to his lieutenant-general, took a journey into *Greece*, accompanied only by his son, *Scipio Æmilius*, and some few other

388 ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. Book II.

attendants. The chief motive of this journey seems to have been not amusement, but devotion. In order to return his thanksgiving to heaven for his late great success, *Æmilius* seems to have visited all the most famous temples in Greece; particularly those of *Delphos*, *Athens*, and *Olympia*.

PLUTARCH says, that in several of the Grecian cities *Æmilius* then eased the people's grievances. Indeed during this journey, being now at a distance from the Roman camp, he seems gladly to have indulged his natural goodness of heart. *Ita peragravit Græciam ut nihil eorum, quæ quisque Persei bello privatim aut publice sensisset inquireret, ne cujus metu sollicitaret animos sociorum.*

BUT far different was the scene on his return to *Macedonia*. On the road he was surprized with the news of the cruel massacre in *Ætolia*. At *Demetrias* he received intelligence of the arrival of the ten commissioners sent from the Roman senate, *quorum de sententiâ res in Macedoniâ componeret.*

PROCEEDING to *Amphipolis*, he there summoned a general assembly of the *Macedonians*. *Cum decem legatis in tribunali consedit, pronuntiavitque quæ senatui, quæ sibi ex consilii sententiâ visa essent.*

THE influence of the Roman senate, and of the ten commissioners, seems indeed to have had a very bad

bad effect on his conduct. If he had been permitted to have regulated the settlement of the conquered countries according to the wisdom and goodness of his own heart, this part of his history would probably have been far more glorious.

THE articles of the settlement of *Macedonia* will perhaps, on an examination of the particulars, appear to you to be of a very mixed nature; some severe, some moderate; such a set of articles, in a word, as should seem to be the composition of a body of men, some of whom were mild, and some hard-hearted.

OTHER laws were afterwards added to those articles. These are by *Livy* particularly attributed to *Æmilius*, with the following elogium. *Leges Macedoniæ dedit cum tantâ curâ, ut non hostibus victis, sed sociis benemeritis dare videretur.*

THIS surely may be considered as a great proof of that humanity, which is generally attributed to the character of *Æmilius*.

AMIDST the pride and cursed hard-heartedness of his countrymen, the humanity of *Æmilius* frequently struggled to break forth.

It is but justice to his memory to add, that though the spoils of *Macedonia*, which he brought to *Rome* and placed in the public treasury, were so great as not to be equalled by the spoils brought hither at any time by any other *Roman* general; (scarce even by those of *Pompey* the Great) yet of all these *Æmilius* would not accept the least part for himself*. He continued in his former poverty. At his death, his widow's jointure, which amounted only to five thousand pounds, could not be raised without the sale of part of his family estate, and all his family furniture.

How glorious would the character of *Æmilius* have appeared, either if he had been born in a more virtuous age, or if he had possessed sufficient strength of mind to resist the wickedness of his contemporary countrymen? But, though good and merciful himself, yet he had the weakness to submit himself to men of bad tempers, and sometimes to become the instrument of their cruelty.

The conduct of the *Romans*, after the conquest of *Macedon*, in regard to the other *Grecian* states, was very partial and unjust.

IN

* This must be understood with exception to the library of king *Perfes*, which *Æmilius* gave to his sons. Μονα τα βιβλια τε βασιλιως φιλογρηματησι τοις μεσιν επιτερεψεν εξελισθαι.

Plutarch. Vita Æmilii.

IN judging the affair of the late massacre in *Ætolia*, they condemned indeed *Bæbius*, (probably from a point of honour, he being the *Roman* commander then in that country) but they acquitted all his *Ætolian* accomplices, and even authorised what they had done.

IN relation to *Achaia*, and other states, the ten commissioners eagerly listened to *Callicrates*, and other informers; and *Æmilius* obeyed their decree*, though unwillingly, it being indeed quite opposite to that generous conduct, which he himself had followed in his late journey through *Greece*.

STILL more contrary to his mild and beneficent temper was that horrid work in *Epirus*, to which he was then commanded by the *Roman* senate. Τὸτο μὲν οὖν (to use *Plutarch's* words) Αἰμιλίου ἐπράσσε μάλιστα παρὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ φύσιν, ἐπεικὴ ἦσαν καὶ χρηστῆν. Surely he ought to have absolutely refused to obey such orders of his government; whatever the consequence of such disobedience might have been to himself.

Ec 4

BUT

* Περὶ μὲν οὖν τούτων, μετὰ τινα χρόνον, ἐξεπέμψεν ὁ στρατηγὸς τὰς ἐπιστάτας καὶ τὰς πρεσβείας, καὶ οὐκ εὐδοκῶμεν, κατὰ γὰρ τὴν αὐτοῦ γνώμην, ταῖς τῶν περὶ τοῦ Λυκισκοῦ καὶ Καλλικράτην διαβολαῖς· ὥς ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν πραγμάτων ὑπερὸν ἔγνωτο κατὰ φανες. *Polyb. Legationes. 94. in fine.*

BUT let us hasten to turn our thoughts from this part of the history of *Æmilius*.

FROM *Epirus* *Æmilius* set sail for *Rome*. I will not pretend to amuse you with any description of his magnificent triumph, which proceeded first by water up the *Tiber*, and then by land through the streets of this city, with uninterrupted pomp for three whole days.

SUCH a description would give but little pleasure to this company. In *your* judgments, I am confident *Æmilius* on his triumphal chariot made not near so glorious a spectacle, as his father *Paulus* did while bleeding on the field of *Cannæ*.

FAR more truly glorious also (permit me, dear sirs, to recollect the studies of my profession) was the bloody fate of the sons of the brave *Mattathias*, I mean in particular *Judas Maccabæus* and *Eleazar*. If I am not mistaken, it was about the time of *Æmilius's* triumph that these heroes
 166. of *Israel* set up their standard on the hills of *Modin*.

BUT let me not wander too much from my present subject. The description of *Æmilius's* triumph will, I am sure, by no means be an agreeable entertainment to you. The inhumanity
 of

of part of that pompous shew drew tears even from the hard-hearted spectators themselves.

INDEED, dear sir, said the eldest of the young gentlemen, whenever I have been reading the description of that cruel triumph, I have always reflected with pleasure on the different temper of the *English* nation: For how far more noble a triumph does the history of *England* contain? I mean the triumph of the heroic, humble, and humane Prince of *Wales*; who, after the victories of *Cressy* and *Poitiers*, attended with the greatest deference and modesty through the streets of *London* to the gates of *Westminster* hall, his royal captive the king of *France*.

FAR more truly glorious also are the present victories of the *British* nation; which (as the world is now hearing with admiration) takes such exalted pleasure, not in insulting, but in charitably cloathing and feeding its captive enemies.

BUT let me not interrupt you any further.

P E R S E S, continued *Crito*, after having suffered all the humiliations of the triumph*, was removed to *Alba Marforum*.

IF

* With *Perfes* were led captive in the triumph his young children, two sons, and one daughter. The daughter and one of

If you look on *that* large map, which describes the frontiers of the ecclesiastical state towards the *Abruzzi*, you will find, I believe, on a hill near the lake *Celano* (antiently *Fucinus*) the ruins of that town, still called *Albi**. In *that* town this king (who had in the greatest opulence sat on the throne of *Alexander* the Great) suffered all the misery, stench, and hunger of the worst of common jails.

IN reading that story, as related by *Photius*, in his extracts from *Diodorus Siculus* †, we are shocked with the pride and cruelty of the *Romans*. But let us not forget, my dear fellow-students, that in that dismal punishment of *Perjes* the dispensations of Providence were most just.

*Raro antecedentem scelestum
Deferuit pede pena claudo.*

Leaden

of the sons died soon; it is uncertain in what manner. His other son earned his living by following the trade of a working toymen; but was afterwards preferred to be a writing clerk in one of the offices at *Rome*. In such poverty ended the royal house of *Macedon*, about 160 years after the death of that monarch, to whose ambition the whole earth seemed too narrow. HOOKE.

* See *Alberti's* description of *Italy*, in the article of *Campagna di Roma frà terra*.

† See the extracts from the 31st book of *Diodorus Siculus*, in *Photius's* works. Edit. *Rothomag.* p. 1158.

Leaden perhaps were its feet : but iron were its hands.

THE black crimes of *Perfes*, particularly his numerous murders, must now have set heavy on his soul. Groaning in the darkness of his dungeon, to which his conscience certainly added tenfold horrors, *Perfes* must have thought on his brother *Demetrius*; and that thought must have struck him dumb in all his complaints on his present misery.

—*Pallas te hoc vulnere, Pallas
Immolat ; & pœnam scelerato e sanguine sumit.*

WHILE *Perfes* was suffering this due punishment *Æmilius* also was receiving from the hands of the same Providence some heavy and peculiarly timid humiliations. In the midst of his triumph two of his children were taken from him.

HIS speech on that occasion you have often admired, both in *Plutarch* and in *Livy**. Full indeed is it of the spirit of the most noble patriotism, and (what is a great additional recommendation) not deficient in parental tenderness: in a word, it seems highly suitable to the idea generally

* *LIVY*, lib. xlv. c. 41.

rally entertained of the heroic character o^f a Roman father.

FULL also is it of *instructive* philosophic sentiments, relative to the vicissitudes of all human affairs. For *instructive* surely we may call all lessons which tend to humiliate human pride; though on such an occasion, Christian piety would certainly have breathed much more wise, much more holy meditations.

Pious resignation to the will of heaven, humble contrition of our own hearts, overflowing pity to all our fellow-creatures, (whose distresses might be relieved from our charity) would certainly be the genuine first-fruits of a Christian mind on such an occasion.

SOME of these charitable sentiments, though not expressed in the speech of *Æmilius*, yet seem to have had then an influence on his heart. For *Plutarch*, after having given an abstract of *Æmilius's* oration *immediately* adds, Αἰμίλιος οἰκτεῖρε τὴν Περσέως μεταβολὴν καὶ μάλα βοηθῆσαι αὐτῷ προθυμήθη.

IN this work of charity he was vigorously assisted by *Marcus Æmilius Lepidus*, then president of the senate.

senate*. But their united endeavours had no further effect on the hard-hearted politicians of that assembly, than just to obtain an order for the removal of the king of *Macedonia* from the dungeons of the common goal to a more convenient private confinement.

IN that confinement *Perfes* died about two years afterwards, it is uncertain in what manner,

ÆMILIUS survived him about four years.

PART of his latter years were employed in the office of censor. To that office he was elected by the general love of the people; he exercised it with his usual mildness and industry. The remainder of the time was passed in a long indisposition, which led him slowly to his end.

HE was attended to his grave by the love and veneration not only of his countrymen, but even of the enemies of his country. *Spaniards*, *Ligurians*, and *Macedonians* voluntarily crouded to support and follow his bier; the bier of him who had

* Μαρκος Αιμιλιος προκαθημενος τη βουλευτηρια, τηρων τότε περι εαυτον αξιωμα, και το της πατριδος επιεικεις, παρηγεσε τη συγχλητω σχετλιαζων· ει μη των ανθρωπων φοβον ευλαβονται, την γε της υπερφανως ταις εξεστιαις χρωμενης μετερχομενην νεμεσιν αιδεισθαι.

Vid. Photii Excerpta de 31mo libro Diodori Siculi.

398 ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. Book II.

had been (as far as his power seemed to reach) their *merciful* conqueror, and ever afterwards their kind benefactor.

Ου γὰρ μόνον ἐν οἷς ἐκρατήσε καιροῖς ἡπίως πασι
καὶ φιλανθρωπῶς ἀπηλλαγῇ χρησάμενος, ἀλλὰ καὶ
παρα πάντα τοῦ λοιποῦ βίου αἰετὶ πραγμάτων ἀγαθοῦ
αὐτοῖς, καὶ κηδόμενος ὥσπερ οἰκείων καὶ συγγενῶν,
διετέλεσεν *.

* * *

CRITO now began to fold up his papers. The conversation for some minutes continued on the character of *Æmilius*; and then gradually wandered to other parts of the history of his times.

AMONG the many defects, said *Crito*, and the many faults which may most easily be found in this my poor compilation, I am sorry to own, that *in this part of it*, I have very negligently omitted several characters, which by no means deserved to be passed over in silence. But I hope you will be the more inclined to excuse this omission, when you consider the irregular manner in which you must suppose this compilation to have been made.

THESE

* *Plutarchus in fine vitæ L. Æmilii Pauli.*

THESE papers were compiled by me at various times and places; partly here at *Rome*; partly in *England*; partly in our long journey from *England* hither, according as leisure hours and proper opportunities offered themselves.

AMONG these I find one paper, which I transcribed from *Frenshemius's* Supplement *, during the last summer which I had the pleasure of passing at my dear pupil's country seat: it relates to the character of *Ariarathes Philopator*, king of *Cappadocia*, nearly contemporary with *Paulus Æmilius*. That royal youth was remarkable for filial piety, and for polite learning: he was just and honest to all men; loving and beloved by all the people committed to his care.

ANOTHER unfinished and uncorrected paper I find dated at *Parma*. It was begun one evening at the inn there, while you were gone to court. It was designed as an attempt towards a candid and impartial character of *Marcus Æmilius Lepidus*; the same person, whose most noble behaviour I mentioned to you just now, as president of the *Roman* senate †. The reason which induced me

* Vid. lib. xlvii. c. 14, 15, &c.

† The reader is referred to the historians for other particulars of the character of *Æmilius Lepidus*. He was colleague in several offices of the state (those of ædile and prætor) with *Paulus Æmilius*. In his consulship he seems to have been of the

me to this studious amusement while at *Parma*, was the consideration that the road, along which we had travelled the day before from *Placentia*, lay very near, and perhaps parallel to the antient *Via Æmilia*.*.

HERE is a third paper, on the subject of which (as I find by the mark) I have been thinking since my arrival at *Rome*. It is dated in the beginning of Lent, and was composed in that part of the *Farnese* gardens which is nearest to the *Lupercal*.

ITS the same opinion with him, relative to checking the excesses of the *Romans* in *Asia Minor*, and other countries. For his behaviour as censor, see *Livy*, lib. xl. c. 46.

He was chosen president of the senate in the year A. C. 179. He died in the year A. C. 152. See *Frenshemius's* Supplement, lib. xlviii. c. 9. His character does not seem to have been flattered by *Livy*; on the contrary, the reader will consider whether or no some of his actions (particularly his conduct relative to the affairs of *Ambracia*, while consul; and to the work of the *Mole* at *Tarracina*, while censor) might not perhaps have been represented in a more pleasing light, than that in which they appear described by that historian. *Lepidus's* noble and generous conduct, while president of the senate, in relation to the king of *Macedon*, will doubtless incline the reader to consider all his other actions in the most favourable manner possible.

* The *Via Æmilia* was originally made by *Æmilius Lepidus*, while consul; and being carried by him from *Placentia* through *Parma*, *Modena*, and *Bologna*, quite to *Rimini*, gave its name to most of the adjacent country, from thence called *Gallia Togata Æmilia*.

Pacatis Liguribus, Æmilius exercitum in agrum Gallicum duxit; viamque ab Placentiâ ut Flaminie committeret, Ariminum perduxit. *Livii*, lib. xxxix. c. 2.

Soon afterwards *Roman* colonies were settled at *Parma* and *Modena*; (vid. *Livii*, lib. xxxix. c. 55.) *Æmilius Lepidus* being the first of the commissioners appointed to regulate those settlements.

Its subject is the *excellent* character of *Scipio Nasica*, the *worthy* son of that *Nasica*, who was judged *ex toto populo Romano bonorum optimus*.

ON this paper I find several memorandums relative to the *military heroisms* of his youth ; I mean those on the summit of mount *Olympus*, which he atchieved in conjunction with young *Fabius*, son of *Paulus Æmilius*; and to the spirit and modesty which he shewed in the following counsel of war*. Other memorandums relate to his self-denial, and modest submission to the government, in readily resigning his first consulship†; and to his spirit in executing his office of censor‡.

THERE are also on the same paper several *extracts* from *Frensbemius*. The first regards the behaviour of *Nasica* on his conquest of *Dalmatia* in his second consulship. *Imperatoris nomen, cum de more a militibus acclamatum esset, recusavit; parique modestiâ triumphum a senatu oblatum vix accepit §.*

VOL. I.

F f

THREE

* Vid. *Livii*, lib. xlv. with *Frensbemius's* Supplement, c. 35, 36, 38.

† Vid. *Frensbemius's* Supplement, lib. xlv. c. 28.

‡ *Ibid.* lib. xlvii. c. 2, 3.

§ *Ibid.* lib. xlvii. c. 28.

THREE years afterwards, *Nasica* was, on the death of *Marcus Æmilius Lepidus*, chosen his successor in the office of *pontifex maximus*. Permit me to read to you at length an extract from *Frensbemius*, relative to his behaviour in that station.

Sanctissimis moribus, & inviolabili mentis rectitudine præditus, ætatem procul iis ineptiis habuerat, quibus vis ingenii animique inanium aut noxiarum rerum admiratione vilêscit. Sapientiæ artibus, publici privatiq; juris peritiâ, & utrisque studium eloquentiæ conjunxerat : illis opus habere judicans, ut vir civisque bonus esse possit ; hoc ut alios efficere. Quibus de causis in admiratione hominum cum esset, communi faventium usu corculum est appellatus.

*Idem iisdem temporibus documentum illustre dedit cum efficaci facundiâ summæ auctoritatis. Inter alia quædam opera publica theatrum proximi censors à *Lupercali* in *Palatium* versûs locaverunt : id tum struebatur, neque procul perfectione aberat ; cum *P. Cornelius* exitiosum civitatis moribus institutum esse docens, si vanæ voluptatis illecebris mansura sedes poneretur, neque ædificari porro, & quod ædificatum esset dirui oportere censuit. Multum prospexisse sapientissimi viri animum sequentis ævi recordiâ demonstravit, cum ingenti civitatis damno & dedecore theatralibus ludis, quidquid enervare virilem indolem, quidquid imbueret flagitiis, impudentiâ, seditionibus homines potest, spectandum*

spectandum publice, atque per hoc imitandum proponeretur. Tum autem, necdum adeo degenerantibus a pristina integritate mentibus persuasum est, ut destruit affectum opus, subbastarique omnia quæ comparata theatro fuerant, juberentur: digno utique senatusconsulto, quod inter nobilissima Romanæ gravitatis argumenta notaretur.

BUT far the most glorious part of *Nasica's* conduct, during his possession of this high office, was that in all the debates of the *Roman* senate, he constantly exerted the force of his eloquence in pleading for mercy to *Carthage*.

IT is observed by *Polybius* and other writers, that *Nasica* was induced to this conduct, by the wise consideration, that, if the fear of *Carthage* was totally removed, *Rome* would soon sink (as in fact it did) into the depth of luxury, and all kinds of vice.

BUT, joined to this consideration, other motives of more extensive generosity probably influenced the heart of this good man. The *Punic* nation was a part of mankind; and therefore he had pity on it: *Carthage* was one of the most glorious cities of the earth; and therefore he was willing to save it from ruin and desolation.

OPPOSED perpetually in the *Roman* senate, and scarce escaping with life from *Carthage*, (to which place he went as mediator) yet never did this good man cease from this generous and almost *Christian* labour.

MOST shameful would it have been, if in a catalogue of *Roman* worthies, this *excellent* character had been totally omitted. But, whatever pains I might have taken in properly digesting and arranging these materials, I fear I never could have done justice to the *glorious subject* *.

BUT why do I complain of want of abilities? That consideration (true as it is) ought not to have hindered me from doing my best. It is my own idleness that is in fault.

CRITO now took two or three turns in the gallery by himself, fixing his eyes in silence on the floor. Looking then up to one of the great maps of the *Roman Campagna*, with which the walls of the gallery are adorned, another instance, said he, of my negligence is, that I have omitted to speak with due praise of *Cethegus*; *Cethegus*,
who

* It may not be improper to remind the reader, that this *Nasica* had for his son the unhappy man by whom *Tiberius Gracchus* fell; but he had a grandson, who was consul in the *iiiid.* year before *Christ*, and who recovered the honour of the family.

Chap. V. ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. 405

who was consul at the time of the death of *Æmilius Paulus*, and who during his consulship performed the great and useful work of draining *those* 160.
extensive Pomtine marshes.

IF you, dear sir, said the eldest of the young gentlemen, are idle and negligent, what am I? But be so kind as to give me some information on that work of *Cetbegus*; I have lately been hearing much talk of a similar design, formed or encouraged by the present owner of this *Vatican* palace.

THIS new topick engaged the company for a considerable time, till they were interrupted by one of their servants, who came in to inform them, that the Abate was not yet returned from the palace of the cardinal librarian, and that the doors of the *Vatican* library were now shutting.

THIS being the case, *Crito* was obliged to defer till another day his business in that library; and the company agreed to pass the remainder of this morning in the *Vatican* gardens, and in the *Casino* and *Cortile* of the adjoining *Belvidere*.

* * *

THEIR first walk was to that grand alcove, which is built after the designs of *Bramante* and

F f 3

Buonarroti;

Buonarroti; and on the balustrade before which are placed two antique peacocks of *Corinthian* brass.

IF I am not mistaken, said the young noblemen, these peacocks stood originally on the tomb * of *Scipio Africanus Minor*, son of *Paulus Æmilius*. An ornament by no means improper to it: this bird being considered by the antients (as I have somewhere read) as an emblem of *Afric*, or rather of *Carthage*.

*Hanc Juno fertur terris magis omnibus unam
Posthabitâ coluisse Samo. Hic illius arma,
Hic currus fuit.*

EVERY school-boy knows that the chariot of *Juno* was drawn by peacocks. The same bird is, perhaps for a similar reason, stamped on the coins of *Samos*.

TRAVELLERS (continued the same young nobleman, after some short recollection) on coming to *Rome* find its palaces and its musæums still ornamented

* The tomb of *Scipio Æmilianus* is said to have been situated somewhere between the great piazza of the *Vatican*, and the *Janicular* bridge; its form was pyramidal; it was much more lofty and magnificent than the pyramid of *Cestius*.

The marbles taken from its ruins make part at present of the pavement in the vaults and rich subterranean chapels under the principal altar in *St. Peter's*.

ornamented with many of the spoils of *Greece*. But where, might they naturally ask, are the spoils of *Carthage*?

IT might be answered, that the columns of *Numidian* marble, which adorn several of the churches or palaces at *Rome*, may possibly, some of them at least, have been originally brought hither from *Carthage*; but this indeed is very uncertain. If we examine the account of the spoil brought from *Carthage* by *Scipio Æmilianus*, we shall find it to consist of *immense* quantities of silver and gold, and a very large collection of fine pictures and sculptures. But those sculptures and paintings were by no means the works of *Carthaginian* artists; they all originally came from *Greece* and *Sicily*. As for the *Carthaginians*, they seem to have been totally taken up with the thoughts of increasing their wealth and power; and (like our own countrymen, till of late years) to have given but little attention to the fine arts.

BUT whatever the spoils of *Carthage* were, they are all melted down, forgotten, and lost. Nor is there, I believe, any thing *even relative* to the mighty city of *Carthage* to be seen now at *Rome*, except only the fragment of the *Duilian* inscription in the *Capitol*, and these small *uncertain* remains of the tomb of its conqueror.

EVEN on the shore itself of *Carthage*, according to Dr. *Shaw*, there are no ruins of triumphal arches, no sumptuous piece of architecture, no granite columns, or curious entablatures. Its only remains are its cisterns and great aqueduct.

AMONG the many travellers continually coming to *Rome*, I could wish, said the eldest of the young gentlemen, that some would take their route hither by sea, by way of the *Straights* of *Gibraltar*, and coasts of *Barbary*. You remember, dear sir, (said he, turning to *Crito's* pupil) the fine moral lesson given to some of *Tasso's* heroes, while sailing along that coast*.

*Hor quinci addita la Donzella a i due
Guerrieri il loco, ove Cartagin fue.*

*Giace l'alta Cartago. A pena i segni
De l'alte sue ruine il lido serba.*

Muojono le citta; muojono i regni:

Copre i fasti & le pompe arena & berba.

E l'buom d'esser mortal par che si sdegni.

O nostra mente cupida e superba!

BUT of all travellers surely *Englishmen* must be most peculiarly affected by the sight of the ruins of that great *maritime* city. Several writers have (not without some appearance of reason) called
England

* Vid. *Tasso*, *Gierusalemme Liberata*, cant. xv. 19.

Chap. V. ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. 409

England a second *Carthage*: but whether or no *England* resembles *Carthage* in its wealth and power, it certainly will resemble it in its mortality.

I REMEMBER some years ago reading with great pleasure (while at *Liverpool*) *Virgil's* description of the building of *Carthage*, and of the *Tyrian* industry in digging her docks, and opening her havens. But how different is the scene of the present desolation on her shore.

CARTHAGE seems, said *Crito's* pupil, to have had (if I may use the expression) a more violent death than any other maritime power. *Athens* and *Alexandria*, if I remember right, and all the late maritime states of *Italy*, sunk much more gradually and quietly.

You forget, said *Crito*, the fate of her mother *Tyre*. *Tyre* fell by the *Babylonian* arms, as *Carthage* by those of *Rome*. Indeed the fate of these two maritime cities seems in several respects very similar. Your *Virgil* perhaps was thinking of the similar destruction of *Carthage*, and of *Tyre*, when he wrote those lines of the 4th *Aeneid*.

——— *Immissis ruat hostibus omnis*

Carthago, aut antiqua Tyros; flammæque furentes
Culmina perque hominum volvantur, perque Deorum.

IN

410 ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. Book II.

IN some of my late *Sunday* studies, I read the description of the fall of *Tyre*, related in a very poetical allegory by the contemporary *sacred* writers; and I made some loose extracts from them, which I thought would give great pleasure to you, my dear pupil, when thinking of the fall of *Carthage*. If we change only some few of the proper names, we shall find these extracts almost as applicable to *Carthage* as to *Tyre*.

O *Tyrus*, thy ship-builders have perfected thy beauty* :

With firs of Sennir have they built thy sides :

Oaks of Basan have they taken for thy oars ;

And the cedar of Lebanon for thy mast.

*Thy galleries are adorned with ivory from the isles
of Chittim :*

Fine linen with broider'd work from Egypt,

Was that which thou spreadedst forth to be thy sail ;

Blue and purple from the isles of Elisa.

The wise men of Sidon were thy pilots :

The ship-men of all nations were thy mariners :

The Lydians and Africans thy men of arms.

All

* The sacred poets frequently represent the great states of their times under some pleasing and proper allegory. Thus the kingdom of *Egypt* is allegorically described, sometimes as a crocodile, sometimes as the river *Nile* : the kingdom of *Affyria*, sometimes as a great tree on the mountains, sometimes as an eagle ; but of all these allegories, perhaps none is more beautiful than the description of the *Phœnician* nation under the emblem of one of its own great ships.

Chap. V. ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. 411

*All around thee they hung up their helmets and
shields ;*

*They added to thy ornaments, and made thy beauty
perfect.*

*With the merchandize of all lands wast thou re-
plenished ;*

And made very glorious in the midst of the seas.

But thy rowers have brought thee into great waters :

The east wind has broke thee in the midst of the seas.

Thy riches and thy merchandize,

Thy soldiers and thy mariners,

And all thy company shall sink

In the midst of the seas,

In the depths of the waters, &c.

THE sacred writers inform us, what was the real cause of this destruction of Tyre ; its wickedness.

INDULGE me, dear sir, (continued *Crito*, addressing himself to the eldest of the young gentlemen) if I digress into some reflections ; which, though not malevolently applied to my country, are certainly worthy the attention of an *English* patriot.

THE *Phœnicians*, not content with the fair profits of their extensive trade, were guilty of much iniquity and fraud in their dealings. They misused also their great naval power, by claiming and exercising

exercising an absolute dominion of the seas; which claim is as injurious to the rights and liberties of mankind, as any pretensions to universal empire on the land; and is founded on the same principles of insatiable avarice, pride, and tyranny.

How art thou destroyed, which wert the renowned city!

*Strong in the sea, thou, and thy inhabitants,
Which caused their terror to be on all that frequented it.—*

*Because thy heart was lifted up, and thou saidst,
I sit in the seat of a god in the midst of the seas:
By my own wisdom and traffic how have I increased
my riches?*

*(By the multitude of thy traffic didst thou fill thyself
with iniquity:)*

*Therefore shall strangers destroy the beauty of thy
wisdom and glory.*

Behold! I am upon thee, O Tyrus!

*And will cause many nations to rise up against thee;
As the sea riseth up with its waves.*

I will bring the great deep upon thee;

And many waters shall cover thee.

They shall wash away the walls of Tyre;

And sweep away the palaces thereof.—

*Thy walls and thy palaces shall lie buried in the
waters:*

*And I will make thee like the barest rock in the sea;
A place only for the fisherman to dry his net on.*

BUT

Chap. V. ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. 413

BUT let me not wander too far from the principal subject of this conversation.

IF *Tyre* was destroyed for its wickedness, the destruction of *Carthage* also seems to have been the natural consequence and just punishment of her former pride and avarice, cruelty and perfidy.

IT seems particularly remarkable, that the heavy and cruel commands which *Rome* laid on *Carthage*, during the consulship of *Marcus* and *Manilius*, are *exactly* the same with those which *Hannibal* laid on *Saguntum*; as you may see when you return home this morning, by turning to the 12th and 13th chapters of the 21st book of *Livy*.

I HAVE been lately reading with these my two young friends, replied *Crito's* pupil, the history of the destruction of *Carthage*: but I must own, that in reading it, we forgot the former crimes of the *Punic* nation. Our thoughts were totally taken up with the hateful and execrable cruelty and perfidy of *the Romans* on that occasion; particularly during the consulships of *Marcus* and *Manilius*. 149.

YOUR censure is very just, replied *Crito*; but have patience a while, and you will see *Rome* also punished. The punishments of Providence are often

414 ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. Book II.

often flow, both in general and in particular cases: but they are not on that account less real. Have patience a while, and you will see the heavy calamities prepared for *Rome*. To specify one instance only, you will see *Marinus* rise from the ruins of *Carthage*, as it were, to revenge her cause.

YET let us not anticipate those times, nor murmur at the long-suffering of heaven. Surely *that* is the very last complaint which man ought to make.

LET us return to the studies of this day. We have been this morning considering the fall of *Macedon*; and it was then observed, that proper moral reflections on *that* subject would be the *most edifying parts* of your study of *Æmilius's* life. The same observation holds good in relation to *Carthage*, and *Scipio Æmilianus*.

SCIPIO Æmilianus was the next character on which I proposed to ask your opinions. We are now standing by the remains of *his* tomb: yet my mind is much fuller of *Carthage* than of him.

IN one of the days while *Carthage* was in flames, *Scipio Æmilianus* filled an urn with some
of

of its embers; which urn he afterwards brought to *Rome*, and deposited in the *Capitol*.—If in the present *Capitoline Museum*, or in any other repository of antiquities in this city, that urn had been now preserved, with what poetic and philosophic melancholy would you, my dear pupil, have often viewed it? Perhaps you would have embraced it in your arms, repeating at the same time some lines from your *Sophocles's* *ſad Electra*; (though with sentiments far more generous and humane, than those with which that princess was actuated.)

— Γενῶ το παν ομα

Συν τῇδε κλαυθῶ κ' ἀποδύρωμαι σποδῶ.

BUT let me not pretend to preach the funeral-sermon of that great city. I am far too weak both in mind and tongue to attempt such a subject. Permit me only to desire you to give to it its full and due weight in your thoughts.

SAYING this, *Crito* leaned his arm on one of the brazen peacocks; and after having remained silent for some minutes, opened his papers of notes.

THE final conquest of *Carthage*, said he, is the most striking part of the military history of *Scipio Æmilianus*. But it is not the purpose of our present

present conversation to pretend to judge of his military abilities; we are to consider scarce any thing but his moral character.

IN the midst of that horrid scene, I mean the destruction of *Carthage*, two actions of *Scipio* were very laudable.

1. HE imitated the *disinterested conduct* which his father *Paulus Æmilius* had shewn in the conquest of *Macedon*. From the flames of *Carthage* he preserved several valuable libraries, (the repositories probably of *Punic* learning) and presented them to *Micipsa*, the son of *Masinissa*: he returned from *Carthage* to *Rome*, without having enriched *himself* with any part of the spoil of that incredibly opulent city *.

2. HE imitated also the *compassion* which his father shewed at the fall of the enemy. In the
last

* Αριστιδης επικαρτερησε τη πεινα, πολλων χρηματων κυριου γινεσθαι δυναμεν. Και Σκιπιων Καρχηδονα ελων, υδεν ελαβεν ετιδε των λαφυρων. *Plutarchus de Fortunâ.*

See also the extracts from *Polybius de virtutibus & vitiis*, in the octavo edition of *Polybius's* works, published at *Amsterdam*, 1670, p. 1427.

Κυριου γινομεν της Καρχηδοι, ητις εδοκει πολυχρημονεαλη των κατα την οικημενην ειναι πολεων, απλως των εξ εκεινης υδεν εις τον ιδιον βιον μετηγαγεν, ελ' ανησαμεν, ελ' αλλω τροπω κλησαμεν υδεν. καιπιε εκ ολων ευπορεμεν κατα τον βιον, αλλα μετριον κατα την υπαρξιν.

last day of the long siege of *Carthage*, *Scipio* sat down on a rising ground, and from thence saw the conclusion of that bloody tragedy. In that situation it is highly probable that he recollected the sentiments which *Æmilius* had expressed in his private conversation with his children soon after the taking of *Pella*. In meditating on those solemn sentiments, *Scipio* seems to have added to them several other reflections which his *learning* suggested to him, as very applicable to the present occasion.

PERMIT me to read to you on this occasion a short extract from *Appian*, which is here in my pocket-book, wrapped up with the paper of the extract from *Plutarch*, which I just now read to you in the *Vatican* gallery.

Ο δὲ Σκιπίων πόλιν ὀρων ἐπ' αἰκοσίοις ἐτέσιν ἀν-
 θησασαν ἀπο τῆ συνοικισμῆ, καὶ γῆς τοσῆς δὲ
 καὶ νῆσαν, καὶ θαλάσσης ἐπαρξάσαν, ὀπλῶν τε καὶ
 νῆων καὶ ἐλεφαντῶν καὶ χρημάτων εὐπορησάσαν ἰσά-
 ταις ἀρχαῖς ταις μεγίσταις, τόλμῃ δὲ καὶ προθυμίᾳ
 πολὺ διασχέσαν, (ἦγε καὶ ναὺς καὶ ὀπλα πάντα
 περιήρημεν τρισὶν ὁμῶς ἐτέσιν ἀντεσχέ πολεμῶ
 τῶσδε καὶ λιμῶ) τότε ἀρδὴν τελευτῶσαν εἰς πᾶ-
 νωλεθρίαν ἐσχάτην, λέγεται μὲν δακρυσταί, καὶ
 φανερῶς γενέσθαι κλαίων ὑπὲρ πολεμίων.

Επιπολυ δ' ἔννευς ἐφ' ἑαυτὲ γενόμενος, καὶ συνιδὼν, ὅτι καὶ πόλεις, καὶ ἔθνη, καὶ ἀρχαὶ ἀπάσας, δεῖ μεταβαλεῖν, ὥσπερ ἀνθρώπων δαιμόνα· καὶ τεῖ ἐπαθε μὲν Ἰλίον εὐτυχῆς ποτὲ πόλις· ἐπαθε δὲ καὶ Ἀσσυρίων, καὶ Μηδῶν, καὶ Περσῶν ἐπ' ἐκείνοις ἀρχὴ μεγίστη γενομένη· καὶ ἡ μαλίστα ἐναγχῶς ἐκλαμψάσα ἡ Μακεδόνων· εἴτε ἐκὼν εἴτε προφυγόντων αὐτοὶ τῷδε. τὴ ἐπὶ τῆς,

Ἔσσεται ἡμᾶρ, ὅταν ποῖ ὁλωλὴ Ἰλίου ἡγή,
Καὶ Πριάμῳ, καὶ λαῷ εὐμελίῳ Πριάμοιο.

Πολυβίος δ' αὐτὸν ἐρομένους συν παρρησία· (καὶ γὰρ ἦν αὐτὸς καὶ διδασκαλῶς) ὅτι βελοῖτο ὁ λογῶς, φασὶν ἐφυλαχάμενον ὀνομάσαι τὴν πατρίδα σαφῶς, ὑπὲρ ἧς ἀρᾶ, ἐς τ' ἀνθρώπειαν ἀφορῶν, ἐδίδει.

SUCH were then the sentiments of *Scipio* when in the height of victory. As for his character in general, I think we had better defer the consideration of it till another morning. I have already exercised your patience, sufficiently for one day, with my papers relative to *Æmilius*.

IT is hardly seventeen o'clock, said the eldest of the young gentlemen, and we have still an hour or two before dinner. Can we employ this time better, than in attending to the character of the pupil of *Polybius*?

Ir

Chap. V. ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. 419

IF you really desire it, replied *Crito*, I am now, as always, at your command. But this funny and pompous alcove is by no means a proper place for such a disquisition; we will retire, if you please, to some cool shady recess in the adjoining *Vatican* gardens.



THE company in their way from the alcove to the gardens passed through the quadrangle of the *Belvedere*.

THE *Belvedere* quadrangle is adorned with several capital pieces of *Grecian* sculpture.

LOOKING on these wonders of *Grecian* art, the young nobleman sighed; and turning to the eldest of his companions, We ought, said he, greatly to admire and love that *patriotic* concern, with which you were just now affected, while speaking of the destruction of that great maritime nation, the *Carthaginians*. In the very same year the *Romans* destroyed the *Achæan* republic also*. The fate of that republic too demands a sigh from your generous heart.

G g 2

YOUR

* *Quasi sæculum illud everfionibus urbium curreret, ita Carthaginis ruinam statim Corinthus excepit, Achæia caput, Græciæ decus.* FLORUS.

There is nothing perhaps which does more honour to the memory of *Julius Cæsar*, than his design of draining the *Pontine* marshes, and rebuilding the cities of *Carthage* and *Corinth*.

YOUR *Polybius* (I remember to have heard you observe) hastened from the conflagration of *Carthage* to save his country. But on his arrival, (whether by the *Criffaan* or *Saronic* gulph) the first object that must have presented itself to his view was the dreadful sight of the whole city of *Corinth* blazing up to the clouds in one flame. I remember also your reflection, that if *Polybius* had been resident in *Achaia* at the beginning of those troubles, his prudence and integrity would probably have prevented those extreme calamities. Even late as he arrived, after the great blow was given, yet he was of much real service to his country; by healing (as much as might be) her deep wounds, and alleviating her misery.

O MY dear friend, from the patriotic feelings of your own heart, you perhaps may conceive some idea of that grief which seized the heart of this worthy patriot on the utter fall of such a nation as *Greece*. The filial extinction of her *liberty* must have been a most weighty affliction on his mind. Yet permit me to observe, that he seems not to have disdained to lament the fate of *her fine arts* also.

CORINTH was the principal seat of the fine arts; the chief repository, where the sculptures and paintings of the most eminent masters of *all*
the

the Grecian schools were collected, as in one grand musæum, when she was thus burnt and plundered by an army; I know not which name is most proper, an army of *Romans* or *Goths*. Your *Polybius* then saw with regret the pictures of *Aristides* (the *Grecian Raphael*) cast on the ground, and the *Roman* soldiers playing at dice on them: he saw the finest statues in the world, some perishing in the flames, others in the hands of barbarians who knew nothing of their excellencies *.

WHAT a lamentable difference must *Polybius* have observed between the ignorant *Mummius* and his pupil *Scipio*? But let me explain myself; I mean chiefly in relation to *vertù* and knowledge of the fine arts. For as to some higher qualities of mind, particularly disinterestedness and contempt of wealth, *Mummius* seems to be equal to *Scipio*, or to any former hero of his country. From the immense riches of *Corinth* and of *Carthage*, *Mummius* and *Scipio* † appropriated to them-

G g 3

selves

* Πολυβίου τα συμβαλὶα περὶ τὴν αἰχμὴν ἐν οὐκίῳ μέρει λαγῶν προστιθῆσι καὶ τὴν στρατιωτικὴν οὐλῶσαν τὴν περὶ τὰ τῶν τεχνῶν ἐργα, καὶ τὰ ἀναθηματὰ.

Strabonis Geographia, lib. viii. p. 381.

† Much of the antient virtue still remained in several of the great *Roman* families.

During the censorship of *Mummius* and *Scipio*, *Titus Manlius Torquatus* solemnly tried his own son, for robbing the province of *Macedonia*, which had been committed to his care as prætor. He tried and condemned him; nor shewed any sign (at least in public) of sorrow for his death.

selves no more than *Curius* and *Fabricius* did from the spoils of the *Samnites*.

BUT let not me pretend to discourse of those high moral qualities of mind. It is enough for me to be talking on my usual trifling (in comparison it is indeed very, very trifling) topic of *vertù*. Yet indulge me, *at least in this place*, if I dwell a quarter of an hour on that topic. The learned Abate, our antiquarian, observed to us lately from some of the *Greek* writers, (I forgot which) that the sculptures and paintings taken by *Mummius* from *Corinth*, made the chief ornaments of the *Roman* temples, even in the reign of *Augustus* *. Perhaps some of the exquisite statues in this quadrangle might be of that number : perhaps *Corinth* could once boast of having in its possession *this* glorious *Apollo*.

THE young nobleman, at the request of *Crito*, now entered on an examination of the several excellencies of that famous statue. He talked on the subject with much judgment and modesty, and then proceeded to some of the other statues round the quadrangle.

As they passed by the statues of *Venus*, *Crito's* pupil could not help repeating some lines from *Euripides*.

* Vid. *Strabonis Geographiam*, lib. viii. p. 381.

Chap. V. ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. 423

Ἦκω περικλυτὸν προλιπὺς
 Ἀκρον Κορινθίων
 Ἱερὸν οὐχ ὅσον πολλὸν Ἀφροδίτας.

The company were now come round to the groupe of *Laocoon*.

How great a proof, said the young nobleman, is this figure of *Laocoon*, not only of the exalted genius of the *Greeks*, but of their indefatigable industry also? that wise industry, which alone leads to perfection. They seem to have attempted few, but noble, works: they certainly perfected them to the utmost possible degree of excellence. The groupe before us is the joint labour of no less than three of the most eminent sculptors of antiquity, a father and two sons, mutually assisting each other; and the excellency of it is so great, that the third part of its merit exalts each of its several authors far superior in the glory of their art above any other masters, whose works are remaining, excepting only *Apollonius* the *Athenian*. (Saying this, he approached the third and greatest wonder of the place, the fragment of the *Hercules*, on the base of which is engraved, ἈΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΥ ΝΕΣΤΟΡΟΣ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΩΣ ΕΠΟΙΕΙ.) This is that most famous statue, which *Michael Angelo*, the modern *Phidias*, continually studied with indefatigable application; and by which he was principally

enabled to revive, in a great degree, the majesty of the antient sculpture. An application imitated in some measure by all the young artists; who come from all regions of *Europe* to *Rome* to perfect themselves either in statuary or painting; and who are wise and industrious enough to employ their time here to the best advantage.

How happy, replied *Crito*, looking on this inestimable antique, would it be for the students of *all* sciences, if they would imitate the wise humility of *Michael Angelo*, (who seems indeed to have been one of the greatest geniuses of modern times) and study with equal diligence and perseverance the noblest examples of their several arts? Such study and such imitation would be to them all the surest and easiest road to great excellence. And give me leave to add, that if it is useful for youth to be informed, that the best method of studying painting or sculpture is constantly to employ themselves in working after the very best models, and in daily endeavouring to enter more and more into the spirit of the very greatest masters, and into the knowledge of the maxims, and rational principles, on which they proceeded; it is certainly *much more important* (I am very glad, my noble friend, that in this I speak your opinion) to consider that the same observation is equally true in the great science of goodness.

I KNOW

I KNOW a person, to whom, of all human writings, the lives of pious persons and eminent saints are the greatest delight. In these he searches as for hidden treasure, hoping to find some secret of holy living, some uncommon degree of piety, which he may make his own.

BUT among heathen books, the best of this kind seems to be the *Memorabilia* of *Socrates*; and next to it perhaps the history of *Cyrus* the Great, written by the same author. Great part of that moral spirit, which animates the *Memorabilia*, seems to have been transfused by *Xenophon* into his *Cyropædia* also.

SCIPIO Æmilianus is said to have made the *Cyropædia* his constant study. *Hos libros de manibus ponere non solebat* *. The institution of *Cyrus* is said to have been to him, what this wonderful work of *Apollonius* was to *Michael Angelo*.

To this study we may with reason attribute many of the virtues which adorned the life of *Æmilianus*. Certainly such a study (if faithfully followed) would be very conducive to the forming one of the best characters, which the heathen world ever saw.

* * *

THE

* Vid. *Tullii* Epistol. ad Quintum fratrem, lib. i. ep. i. c. 8.

THE company now walked down into the adjoining *Vatican* garden. During that short walk, *Crito* introduced a new topic of conversation, by mentioning the custom which the antient *Romans* seem to have observed with great pleasure, that of adorning their houses and villas with the statues of their ancestors.

WHILE *Crito* was with due restriction commending this custom, the company found themselves arrived at the *Casino Pontificio*. That building is situate in the lower part of the *Vatican* garden. The murmurs of the cascades under its *Loggia*, and the shade of the neighbouring grove, greatly increase its pleasantness.

AFTER the young gentlemen had stood for some time admiring the rich stucco and mosaic with which the walls of the *Casino*, of the *Loggia*, and of the two porches are ornamented; *Crito* sat down on the low wall which encompasses the water-works, and resumed his former subject.

SCIPIO Æmilianus, or *Africanus* the younger, is described by several writers as the most completely accomplished hero, which *Rome* ever produced; and it is very much to be remarked, that, in many of his actions, he exactly and nobly imitated the examples of the great men, who had adorned

adorned his family or country before him. *Publium Scipionem* (says *Sallust*) sæpe audiui solitum ita dicere: cum majorum imagines intueretur, vehementissime sibi animum ad virtutem accendi: scilicet non ceram illam, neque figuram tantam vim in sese habere; sed memoriâ rerum gestarum eam flammam egregiis viris in pectore crescere, neque prius sedari, quàm virtus eorum famam atque gloriam adequaverit.

INDEED this constant imitation of the very best characters of *Rome*, joined to his *Socratic* studies, rendered him in several respects far superior to his country. In one particular he remarkably shewed a spirit far more noble than the general spirit of his countrymen; for when, as censor, he performed the public solemn devotions in the *Capitol*, instead of the usual form of prayer on that occasion, (of beseeching the gods to increase and enlarge the power and dominion of the *Roman* people) he gratefully returned them a thanksgiving for all their bounties already bestowed on *Rome*, humbly praying, that they would be pleased to grant to that nation security and contentment in its present state.

BUT it is very peculiarly pleasing to observe, that his life is in many parts a laboured but spirited copy of that of his adoptive grandfather, the elder *Scipio Africanus*.

Æmilianus

A. C.
151.

ÆMILIANUS began his *military life* by an action exactly copied from that great example; my notes refer me on this head to *Frenshemius* *. I must desire you, on your return to your lodgings, to peruse that noble passage.

You will probably also, in turning over the following history of *Æmilianus's* campaigns, find several other instances of the similitude of his character with that of the elder *Africanus*; particularly if you examine his conduct under the several heads of military fortitude, industry, and disinterestedness. *Avi etiam exemplo, Caribagine deviçlâ nihil sibi lucratus redit.*

BUT it was not only in foreign regions that *Æmilianus* thus followed his grandfather's glorious footsteps: he imitated his *love to his country while at home*. (In saying this *Crito* turned to the eldest of the young gentlemen) In the breast of *Æmilianus*, it is said, all considerations constantly gave way to the superior care of the public good. This perhaps may be seen in his opposition to the attempt of his near relation, *Gracchus*: *Pietatem coluit enim magnam in propinquis, in patriâ*
vero

* *Cum Romana juventus detrectaret militiam Æmilianus peropportunam orationem habuit, juvenis adhuc, 'nec nisi togatis virtutibus notus.—Majores natu referebant factum senioris Africani. Nunc ab alio Scipione idem prorsus exemplum relatum, &c.*

Frenshemius, book xlvi. c. 14 to 18.

vero maximam *. In all *civil* affairs he shewed the greatest abilities; he shewed also constantly the most intrepid magnanimity, fronting all dangers, and meeting (as was his fate on *this* account (death itself.

IN his *private character* also he followed the same great example, both in his humility to his companions, and in his love and liberality to his brother; both in his great generosity to his sisters, and in his goodness and gratitude to his parents.

O MY dear pupil, with what pleasure have I seen tears stand in your eyes, while reading these several instances of the *domestic* goodness of *Æmilianus*. This *domestic* goodness seemed to you, as I well remember, to be by far the most truly amiable and laudable part of his character.

I REMEMBER also your observation, that *Æmilianus* was not only similar, but superior to the

* Vid. *Somnium Scipionis*, c. 3.

In relation to the *civick* part of the character of *Æmilianus*, it may not be improper to take notice of two or three particulars.

1. By his persuading *Brisson* to give place to the *Cassian* law, he did not shew himself an enemy to the popular cause. Vid. *Frenshemius*, lib. lv. c. 12.

2. Some *familiarity* is observable between his conduct when indicted by the tribune *Asellus*, (vid. *Frenshemius*, lib. liv. c. 32.) and that of the elder *Africanus*, when accused by the *Petili*.

3. *Scipio Æmilianus, solus omnium, nunquam petens consulatum, bis adeptus est.* Vid. *Frenshemius*, lib. lvi. c. 24.

the elder *Africanus* in two instances; each of which contributed very much to the dignity and happiness of his private life.

I. THE first of these, as you observed to me, was the love of literature. For though the elder *Scipio* seems to have given much attention to the Greek writers, particularly to the author of the *Cyropædia*; and though he could justly pride himself in being the friend and patron of *Ennius*, yet certainly in love of learning, and of learned men, he was surpassed by his grandson,

PARDON me, my dear noble friend, for the following reverie. If I am not mistaken, I have been informed (how truly I know not) that this *Casino*, or at least some part of it, was built in imitation of the small but elegant villas* of the antient *Romans*.

If this be true, why may we not at present indulge the imagination, that it was in *some such villa as this*, that *Æmilianus* frequently enjoyed the conversation of *Pacuvius* and *Terence*; discoursing with them on several of their late compositions

* Non si può adombrare al vivo la leggiadria dell' architettura, che adorna il recinto del bel casino. — Si crede che Pirro Ligorio, d'ingentissimo ricercatore delle antichità, ricopiasse gran parte di questo casino dalli avanzi dell' antiche fabbriche.

Taja descritt. del palazzo Vaticano, p. 500.

positions from the *Greek*, and perhaps enquiring of them what *Lucilius* or young *Attius* were publishing ?

PERHAPS in some such portico *Æmilianus* frequently walked with *Polybius* or *Panætius*; thanking *Polybius* for the kind instruction which he had received from him in his early youth*, and enquiring of him how the great historical work, in which he was at present engaged, went on; discoursing with *Panætius* on some philosophic subject, or recollecting some circumstances which happened to them in their travels. For *Panætius* was *Æmilianus's* travelling companion: they had surveyed together the principal states of the world, examining the excellencies and defects of each:

Ἀνδρῶπων ὕβριν τε καὶ εὐνομίην ἐφορῶντες †.

2. THE

* It seems observable, that *Æmilianus* began his friendship with *Polybius* at eighteen years of age, ἐκ τῆς ἡλικίας βιβλίων, καὶ τῆς περὶ τούτων λαλίας.

How noble was his speech to *Polybius* at that time? Δαβόμενος ἀμφοτέραις χερσὶ τῆς διξίας αὐτοῦ, καὶ πιπύσας ἡμπαδῶς. Εἰ γὰρ ἐγὼ ταυτὴν ἰδοίμι, φησὶν, τὴν ἡμέραν, εἴ ἢ συμπάντα τὰλλα διύλερα. Θέμενος ἐμοὶ προτιξίς τοι ὦν, καὶ μὲν ἐμὴ συμβίωσις* δοξῶ γὰρ αὐτοῦ εὐδὲως ἐμαυτῶ καὶ τῆς οἰκίας ἀξίον εἶναι καὶ τῶν προγόνων.

Excerpta ex *Polybio* de *Virtutibus*, edit. *Amstel.* p. 1457.

† Vid. *Plutarchum*, edit. *Xyland*, vol. ii. p. 777.

432 ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. Book II.

2. THE second article of happiness, in which *Æmilianus* seemed to you, my dear pupil, much superior to his grandfather, was friendship. It is true, that the elder *Scipio* could also boast of a *Lælius* for his friend; for there were two *Lælii* and two *Africani*: but the friendly connection of the latter pair is far more celebrated. *Ex omnibus sæculis vix tria aut quatuor nominantur amicorum paria, in eo genere, in quo nota est horum amicitia.*

TULLY's treatise *de Amicitia*, was, I remember, the last book which you three read together before you came abroad; a proper conclusion of all your united studies at college. In that treatise how amiably described is the friendship of *Lælius* and *Æmilianus* * ?

MAY such always be your happiness in each other ! May such cordial friendship continue to be hereditary in your families ! and may you see in your old age your children and your grand-children blessed with the continuance and (if possible) the increase of this mutual affection.

As

* *In hæc (inquit Lælius) mihi de republicâ consensus, in hæc rerum privatarum consilium; in eadem requies plena oblectationis fuit. Nunquam illum ne minimâ quidem re offendi, quod quidem senserim; nihil audiivi ex eo ipse, quod nellem. Una domus erat, idem victus, isque communis: neque solum militia, sed etiam peregrinationes rusticationesque communes. Nam quid ego de studiis dicam cognoscendi semper aliquid aut discendi; in quibus, remoti ab oculis populi, omne otiosum tempus contrivimus?*

Cicero de Amicitia in fine.

Chap. V. ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. 433

As for yourselves, I am sure you are all possessed of the best qualification for the happiness of friendship. With the sincerest joy let me add, that it is GOODNESS.

IN the conduct of your own lives, in the education of your children, I am sure you will neither of you ever forget, that friendship and learning are two of the greatest ornaments of virtue. You will remember also, that neither true learning, nor true friendship, can ever *even subsist* without her.

BUT the morning is far spent; if you please we will take a turn in this grove, and then walk up again to the *Belvedere* quadrangle in our way home.

I HOPE, my dear fellow-students, you will with your usual kindness, pardon all the faults in this my very short and imperfect sketch of *Æmilianus's* character. I have the more reason to make this excuse, as his character is (according to the generally received opinion) full of the highest excellence; full of the beauty and majesty of virtue; and, as it were, the *Belvedere Apollo* of the *Roman* history.

A most splendid panegyrick on his memory might be compiled, from the accumulated autho-

rities and testimonies, not only of *Sallust* and *Paterculus*, but also of (those much greater names) *Polybius* and *Tully*.

BUT I must own my fears, that those encomiums are, at least in some respects, exaggerated. *Tully* in particular seems to have been carried much too far by his partial love and admiration of this his favourite hero.

BUT it does not in the least become persons of my ignorance and weakness of judgment to pretend to criticise that illustrious writer.

HOWEVER it is on all hands agreed, that *Æmilianus* certainly was possessed of many very eminent virtues. Let us duly study and imitate these.



THE company now descended through the long passage of the *Conclave* into the great *Vatican* piazza; where they found their coach waiting for them: perhaps near the spot where *Æmilianus's* pyramid stood.

IN their way home, as they passed over *Ponte St. Angelo*, the eldest of the young gentlemen
looked

looked out of the coach window on the right, and viewing the ruins of the adjoining *Pons Triumphalis*, he sighed, and thus addressed himself to *Crito*, who sat opposite to him.

I COULD not help observing, dear sir, that in your lecture on *Scipio Æmilianus*, as on one side you were cautious of reciting the extravagant panegyricks which are heaped on his memory by some of the antients; so, on the other, you were totally silent as to the objections made to his character (how truly I do not pretend to judge) by some modern writers.

INDEED the general kind intent of your present course of lectures, seems to make it highly proper to consider these *Roman* heroes, as far as truth will allow, in the most amiable light; to be silent as to their *supposed* defects; and to do as full justice as may be to all their *real* virtues. Such was the conduct of your beloved, the very learned and most amiable Mr. *Rollin*, whose writings have been highly beneficial to the youth of *Christendom*; and who has for that noble purpose wisely described this, and the other famous virtuous characters of antient times, always in the most candid and favourable manner. Yet surely *Scipio Æmilianus* had not the happiness of being in all parts of his life equally glorious.

UNHAPPY *Numantia*!—Perhaps it was over this (now ruined) *Ponte Trionfale*, that *Scipio* passed in triumph on that *far from glorious* occasion. How much more honourable would it have been for him, if he had trod in the generous footsteps of your justly admired *Nasica*; if he had endeavoured to save that brave nation; *si, ipse vir fortissimus, viros ejusdem indolis, laudisque conservasset?*

If the *Roman* government then had been generous enough to bear any reverence to bravery and merit in an enemy; if they had preserved any memory of their own antient character; (the greatness of which was founded in justice and mercy) if they had retained any regard to solemn treaties, or even to common honesty and gratitude; if any of these considerations had continued its due influence on their minds, certainly *non Delenda esset Numantia*.

ON our setting out from *England*, you may remember, we had some thoughts of taking our route hither, not by *France* or *Germany*, (both of which passages to *Italy* seemed to be shut up by the war) but by *Lisbon* or *Porto*, through *Spain* to *Barcelona*, where we intended to reembark for *Leghorn*.

IN

IN the *Portuguese* part of that journey, I flattered myself (I had then been just reading the second part of Mr. *Hooke's Roman* history) that perhaps I might have the pleasure of passing by the place of the tomb of *Viriatuſ*. In travelling through *Old Caſtile*, I certainly intended (though it had been an hundred miles out of the road) to have viſited the ſpot where *Numantia* ſtood*.

It would have encreaſed my rapture on that occaſion, if I could have carried with me thither any ſenſible *Spaniſh* book, deſcriptive of the antient ſtate of the place, and ſpeaking of the heroism of its antient inhabitants with due patriotic ardour.

CERTAINLY on that ſpot I ought to have thought of the *heroes* of *Spain* alone. In all the *Roman* armies, which were engaged in the long and heavy war of *Numantia*, ſcarce any perſon, of the ſuperior officers at leaſt, ſeems to have deſerved that name. If any, it was *Mancinuſ*. His voluntary *dedition* of himſelf (I think that is the *Latin* word) was far more truly glorious, than the triumph of *Scipio*.

THE

* *Numantia* was ſituate ſome few miles diſtant from the city of *Soria* in *Old Caſtile*. *Diſtionnaire Hiſtorique*.

THE *Numantine* campaign, replied *Crito*, seems indeed to be that part of *Scipio's* history which is most barren of true praise. But barren as it is, some useful things may be gathered from it.

If we turn our eyes to the *Roman* camp, we shall find *Scipio* busy in introducing a very laudable reformation in that degenerate and corrupted army. We shall find him by the strictness of his discipline, and by the force of his own example, extirpating many vices there; first intemperance, (that general root of evil) then sloth, then fear.

THESE things certainly deserve our attention and veneration; though the history of the *Numantine* war in general (I speak this in relation to the conduct of the *Roman government*) is very shocking and infernal. Its horrid guilt is one of the blackest stains of the *Roman* annals.

YET let us candidly remember, that *Scipio* most unwillingly accepted the consulship and consequential command in the latter end of that war. Happy would it have been for him, if in his senatorial capacity he had exerted all his influence to prevent it; if he had, though with great difficulty, prevailed on the proud *Roman government* to confirm *Mancinus's* treaty.

BUT

BUT, though he could not have prevailed in that act of justice, yet, surely, surely (for let me not pretend to palliate) he ought never to have made himself an instrument of the wickedness of the government. He ought to have saved *Numantia*, as his father ought to have saved *Epirus*.

NUMANTIA and *Carthage* were indeed the principal considerations, that checked me from transcribing the excessive panegyrics, with which the antient writers have loaded (perhaps more than honoured) the memory of *Æmilianus*. But these considerations, weighty as they are, ought not to hinder us from paying due respect to whatever was truly laudable in his character.

WE are now, my dear fellow-students, at length arrived at the period of the second part of our *Roman* studies. In these last five days conversations, we have ran through the times to which *Polybius* limited his history, beginning at the first, and ending at the last *Punic* war.

THE third part of our *Roman* studies will comprehend about the same space of time, with the Εμφυλις of *Appian*.

BUT.

THE *Numantine* campaign, replied *Crito*, seems indeed to be that part of *Scipio*'s history which is most barren of true praise. But barren as it is, some useful things may be gathered from it.

IF we turn our eyes to the *Roman* camp, we shall find *Scipio* busy in introducing a very laudable reformation in that degenerate and corrupted army. We shall find him by the strictness of his discipline, and by the force of his own example, extirpating many vices there; first intemperance, (that general root of evil) then sloth, then fear.

THESE things certainly deserve our attention and veneration; though the history of the *Numantine* war in general (I speak this in relation to the conduct of the *Roman* government) is very shocking and infernal. Its horrid guilt is one of the blackest stains of the *Roman* annals.

YET let us candidly remember, that *Scipio* most unwillingly accepted the consulship and consequential command in the latter end of that war. Happy would it have been for him, if in his senatorial capacity he had exerted all his influence to prevent it; if he had, though with great difficulty, prevailed on the proud *Roman* government to confirm *Mancinus*'s treaty.

BUT

BUT, though he could not have prevailed in that act of justice, yet, surely, surely (for let me not pretend to palliate) he ought never to have made himself an instrument of the wickedness of the government. He ought to have saved *Numantia*, as his father ought to have saved *Epirus*.

NUMANTIA and *Carthage* were indeed the principal considerations, that checked me from transcribing the excessive panegyrics, with which the antient writers have loaded (perhaps more than honoured) the memory of *Æmilianus*. But these considerations, weighty as they are, ought not to hinder us from paying due respect to whatever was *truly* laudable in his character.

WE are now, my dear fellow-students, at length arrived at the period of the second part of our *Roman* studies. In these last five days conversations, we have ran through the times to which *Polybius* limited his history, beginning at the first, and ending at the last *Punic* war.

THE third part of our *Roman* studies will comprehend about the same space of time, with the *Εμφυλίου* of *Appian*.

BUT.

440 ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. Book II.

BUT before we begin it, I must beg to be allowed a week for the disposing and correcting my papers. You cannot, in the mean while, fail to find some other employment of your time, much more amusing, and probably also much more instructive.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.



